NEW NATION

75p

THE LORD OF THE RINGS

A NEW LOOK AT NATIONALIST THEMES IN TOLKIEN'S MASTERPIECE

SEE PAGES 4 AND 5

NEW NATION

Journal of the National Front

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No. 6 WINTER 1984

inside

CULTURE AND NATIONALISM. Nick Griffin on the need to develop a cultural consciousness . . . . Page 3

TOLKIEN. Paul Comben analyses the central themes of *Lord of the Rings* . . . . . . Page 4

MAN AND CULTURE. Steve Brady raises a controversial philosophical point . . . Page 6

UNITY IN DIVERSITY. Derek Holland suggests that we can learn from the Welsh nationalist tradition . . . . Page 8

ORWELL. Joe Pearce takes a fresh look at this enigmatic man . . . . Page 10

HISTORY. Howard Hawksley reviews the life and ideas of Jose Antonio, the leader of the Spanish Falange . . . . Page 12

SOCIOBIOLOGY. Ian Anderson on the controversial new science . . . . Page 13

LIFE AND LAND. Andrew Brons reviews Jan Marsh's *Back to the Land*. . . . . Page 14

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE. Steve Brady demolishes more multi-racial nonsense . . . . Page 16

POETRY. Margaret Ballard discusses the contemporary relevance of T.S. Eliot's, *The Wasteland* . . . . Page 18

MUSIC. The contribution of Henry Wood to our national music. . . . . Page 19

REVIEW. Andrew Brons reviews A.N. Wilson's biography of Hilaire Belloc Page 20

VIEWPOINTS . . . . Page 22

A SONG OF GEOGRAPHY: Poem and unpublished sketches of G.K. Chesterton . . . . Page 24

editorial

NATIONALIST UNITY?

'Nationalist Unity' is the Holy Grail sought by Nationalists - at least those 'Nationalists' who have placed themselves outside the mainstream of Nationalist politics or out of Nationalist politics altogether!

It is axiomatic that those who think alike should be striving together rather than fighting each other. However, we must not be misled into seeing the basis for unity where none exists. An artificial unity without a firm common ideological foundation would serve to promote, rather than dispel, disunity and dissension. Erstwhile active Nationalists who wish to join or rejoin the National Front must be certain that they accept the ideological position of the Party, **in its entirety**. If they are unable to accept that ideology, they had better remain where they are. Badly founded political unions serve not to aggregate the resources of their constituent parts but merely to waste them.

It may be argued that unity can be manufactured by 'hammering out a compromise' or by 'give and take on both sides'. It is a seductive argument and we should certainly not seek ideological excuses and rationalisations to cloak personal antipathies, jealousies and rivalries. Nor should we tolerate the absence of Nationalists from the Movement on the grounds of semantic preference or choice of slogans. Nevertheless, a blurring of real difference to produce a bewildering patchwork of non-statements, ambiguities and contradictions, is not acceptable.

We do not want to establish an ecumenical movement of Nationalism that, when it speaks at all, speaks with many contradictory voices. That is the certain path to further division or a transparent insincerity that will lose the respect of all - our current supporters as well as our potential supporters.

Most of the erstwhile Nationalists who have left the main Nationalist camp, have done so as a result of disillusionment following the various splits or from sheer cowardice at Establishment pressure. That number includes many who have joined splinter groups, the main purpose of which was to salve the consciences of, whilst providing simulated satisfaction for, 'tired Nationalists'. The remainder - those who left and/or remain outside the Movement, because they do not accept the ideological direction that the Party has taken - could only be won back by substantial ideological surrender on our part. We are not prepared to make such a surrender. Indeed we are determined to guard our ideology closely.

There is also the important **principle of authority**. The National Front is the parent movement from which virtually all of the isolated 'Nationalists' and the one remaining (barely) surviving splinter group, have come. In every case, those people have either resigned from the Movement or have committed acts that inevitably led to their expulsion. It would be unseemly for the Movement to engage in **negotiations** with such people. It would create a precedent that members who wish to overturn a decision have only to form a splinter group and the Leadership will give them pride of place at the negotiating table. The splinter groups have had four or five years to build up rival organisations and they have all failed to build anything that could compare with the National Front. There can certainly be no credible argument for negotiations arising from necessity. The National Front remains the only serious Nationalist Party and to negotiate with those who have left it would be to confer an authority on those who have defied it; to give importance to those who have forfeited the right to serious consideration.

However, there are even more important considerations. Policies are not (or should not be) mere window dressing. They are not divorced from strategy; they are an extension of it. Our policies are our view of what the Nation's strategy should be. A postponement of consideration of real differences of policy is merely a postponement of disunity.

It may be said that the issues of Race and Nation are of such immediate importance that they should take precedence over any differences about (say) economic or industrial policies. That is *almost* self-evident but, like other self-evident propositions, it should not blind us to a greater reality. Our economic and industrial policies are not entirely separate policies that are merely desirable in themselves. They complement and are essential to our national and racial policies. You cannot tolerate Capitalism without tolerating the multiracialism and internationalism that it spawned and sustains. You cannot tolerate Capitalism without tolerating the perpetual division that it fosters between employer and employee - between Briton and Briton. The implementation of our industrial and economic policies is essential to the implementation of our racial and national policies.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Furthermore, unless we are seen to be consistent opponents of Capitalism (though not of private property) then we shall be identified as its defender. While the Capitalist system is still surviving (if not booming), the committed opponents of Capitalism are relatively few and to be found principally among Marxists who will remain ideologically opposed to us, regardless of our economic policies. However, when there is a total economic collapse, the number of people who reject the Capitalist system will be legion and those who have a record of supporting it will have to face the consequences. It is our responsibility to ensure that the opponents of Capitalism are attracted to our policy of widely distributed property and not led up the blind alley of Marxism.

Nationalist Unity is already being achieved - under the banner of the National Front - and that trend will continue. However, its achievement must be subject to certain conditions:-
it must result from other 'Nationalists' applying to join or rejoin the NF and not from any merger of our identity; all of those who seek to join us must accept our ideology absolutely and must not expect to bring their splinter-group misconceptions with them; they must accept without reservation the constitutional authority of the Party; and those individuals who have committed the **most serious** offences against the Party must expect to be excluded.

We, for our part, must not reject individuals out of personal animosity or rivalry and we must accept those who approach us in good faith.

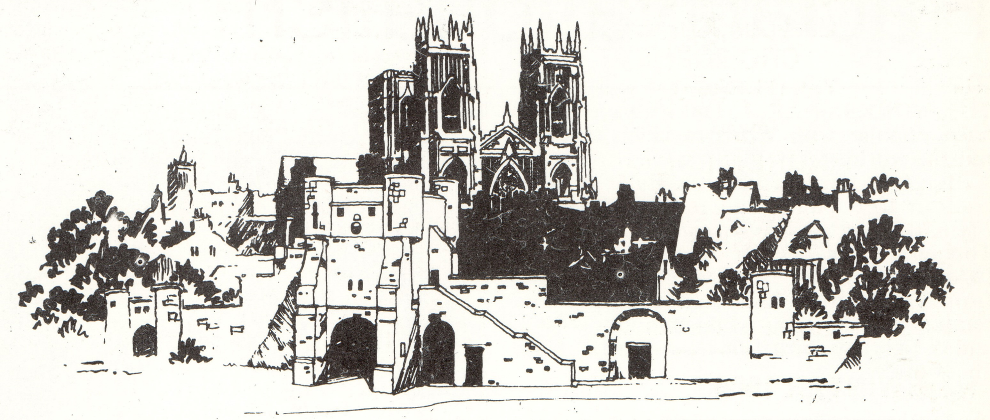
Nationalist Unity is important but only if it leads to National Survival and National Unity.

CULTURE AND NATIONALISM

NICK GRIFFIN

"I pondered . . . how men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name."

William Morris: **A Dream of John Bull.**



BRITISH NATIONALISM for many years had a depressingly negative approach to life. Speeches and publications seemed to comprise long lists of things we were against. Against immigration; against communism; against capitalism; against the IRA; against alien cultural distortion. You name it, British Nationalism was against it.

Often with good reason, of course. We are indeed against many things ,including those mentioned above. But we are **against** them because we are **for** other things, things which they threaten. We are for the preservation of the White race; for individual freedom and widely distributed property; for the right of the Ulster loyalists to preserve their identity; for the maintenance of our traditional culture and values.

It is not surprising that the old negative approach tended to attract negative-minded recruits. It is also predictable that "anti" organizations - made up of disgruntled elements united only by a common set of dislikes - are always the first to succumb to internal factionalising and the least able to withstand external pressure.

This unhealthy way of thinking also gave rise to a crippling narrow-mindedness — a ghetto mentality. This had its most damaging effect in the area that is best described as the "cultural struggle".

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

There is not a single example in modern European history of a national political revolution taking place before that country has first seen a cultural revolution. In Germany, Italy, Finland, Ireland and all the others; the creation or revival of a national myth - through literature, music, sport or language - has always preceded the development of political nationalism.

By its very nature, cultural nationalism is a delicate tapestry made up of many individual threads. Each thread by itself is of limited importance and the individuals concerned may be indifferent or even hostile to certain other aspects of nationalism. But taken together they make up the favourable backdrop, the sympathetic climate of opinion which is vital for the final political victory.

Unfortunately, several generations of Nationalist leadership did not appreciate this. If a great poet, novelist or artist did not share **all** the attributes of the dedicated political Nationalist, if he wasn't completely at one with the Party line, he was ignored or even vilified. Just another "subversive" or "liberal-Lefty".

This narrow-minded attitude emasculated the Nationalist movement, depriving it of the inspiration and stabilising influence of a cultural counterpart. Cut off from their own British roots, some Nationalists even adopted foreign ones, much to the delight of our opponents in the media.

All this was not only unwise, but unnecessary. Our Nationalism in fact takes root in the very depths of Britain's cultural heritage. Looking back on the history of these islands, there is scarcely a great man of letters, radical political thinker or figure who does not have something to say to us today. Yet some of these people have even been "adopted" by the Marxists, largely because Nationalists, too concerned with negative reactions to the evils of today, have made no effort to claim their own cultural heritage.

Of course, the fight against the problems afflicting our land will go on, but there must also be a more positive approach. We must reclaim the great individuals of our race, show how close our ideals are to theirs. Let us rediscover our heritage and show people not just what we are fighting against, but what we are fighting for.

It is in this context that most of the other articles in this issue of *New Nation* should be seen. The common thread which runs through them is the extent to which the great men discussed share many of our values: nationalism; racial awareness; a thirst for social justice and love of their native land.

DIRECT EFFECT

With some of them, such as Belloc, the links to the National Front and its ideas are very clear. The co-founder of "Distributism" has had a very direct effect on the development of our policies and ideology.

With others, the connection is less obvious. Tolkien, for example, was not even political, let alone consciously "one of us". Yet Paul Comben's article on some of the central themes of *Lord of the Rings* shows just how close to our spiritual position Tolkien comes with his emphasis on concepts such as courage, struggle and honour. In a different way, Henry Wood played an important role in the "cultural struggle", through his great contribution to the development of our national music as a whole-hearted champion of British composers such as Elgar.

George Orwell, on the other hand, would have considered himself our opponent for much of his life, but Joe Pearce gives an interesting analysis of just how far Orwell drifted from his early Marxism before his premature death.

Similarly, the great Welsh Nationalist, Saunders Lewis, would at first sight appear to have nothing to offer a broader British Nationalism, until that is, we look at what he has actually said and give further thought to what we actually mean by the phrase British Nationalism.

The list goes on. T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land* is a scathing attack on the degeneracy of modern urbanised man. His anti-materialist funeral song for the Old World must surely strike a chord with anyone who is still spiritually alive in the ruins of our broken civilisation.

G.K. Chesterton is another great man about whose contribution to our ideas much has already been written.

INSPIRATION

We do not dwell on such figures for the sake of nostalgia; nor do we hold them up as infallible demi-gods. But what they said, did or kept alive in the past, all helps to provide inspiration for us in the future. In some cases their experiences are of practical assistance. The successes and failures of the **Back to the Land** movement, for example, provide useful lessons for the NF with its call for substantial de-urbanisation.

And there are many other individuals and schools of thought also worthy of our attention. William Morris, D.H. Lawrence and William Blake, the Social Credit Kibbo Kift and the Greenshirts, these and many more will be considered in future. So too will other Europeans, for we can learn from the likes of Celine and Evola, as well as from the life of Primo de Rivera.

The choice is almost endless. This should be no surprise. Our stand for racial awareness, social justice and cultural identity, our stand for freedom and honour against the twin cancers of Money Power and Marxism, has been the stand of the greatest figures of our race. We have a common identity, a common heritage and common enemies, so it is no wonder we share many links and a common cause.

The cultural distortion which has disrupted the entire Western world springs not from our own past or our own people, but from the ghettos of Eastern Europe and the new multi-million dollar ghettos of New York and San Francisco. It is an influence from outside Western civilisation, the influence of Marx, Freud, Boas and Hollywood, which threatens our national and cultural identity.

If we are to recover that identity, it is up to us to rediscover the richness of our culture and to show our people that our own heritage can offer something better than alien baubles, decadence and corruption.

We must remember our past, for therein lies the key to our future!

TOLKIEN: Ring – bearer for Racial Nationalism

PAUL COMBEN

THE WORKS of J.R.R. Tolkien have always been popular with White racialists throughout the world.

His great tales of heroism stand in stark contrast to the alien bubblegum fantasies of *Flash Gordon* and *Superman.* We relate to Tolkien's work because it appeals directly to our racial soul. His books take us away from this corrupt and nauseating age and remind us of a time when honour, kinship and a fighting spirit filled the hearts of our ancestors.

However, Tolkien achieves this effect not by recalling events of history and building his tales around them – but by the power and imagery of a vast mythology that he alone created.

In the space available it would be impossible to detail all the great and terrible events that occur on Tolkien's Middle-earth in his most famous books, *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings.*

The history presented in these two books – together with their appendices and subsidary tales – span those themes central to Tolkien's whole legend; themes that are extremely relevant to our struggle today, and to the kind of New Order we seek to establish in the years ahead. The themes studied here are: **Racial Identity, The Warrior Ethos, True Nobility and the Love of Nature.**

RACIAL IDENTITY

Any NF member reading Tolkien's major works could not fail to see their racial message.

The great and good nations of Men on Middle-earth are all White and for the most part acutely aware of the bonds of blood and racial heritage.

Many of the fictional nations in Tolkien's books can be clearly identified with those of our world, and in particular those that were either European or else Europe's enemies. For example, in *The Lord of the Rings* we read of the blond, blue-eyed Rohirrim. A fierce but noble warrior nation, they arm themselves and ride into battle much as our Germanic ancestors must have done. Their other customs – the way they live or how they bury and honour their dead – all have root in the practices of our forefathers.

In *The Silmarillion* we first hear of the mighty Numenoreans, a White people whose experience has much in common with that of ancient Rome.

Favoured by the gods, they become the most powerful nation on Middle-earth. For centuries a sort of *Pax Numenor* keeps the forces of evil at bay, and all lawful beings, be they Men, Elves or Dwarves, live largely under their protection. However, like the Romans, they fall foul of corrupting influences. Some begin to mix with the *"lesser Men"*, and the clandestine evil of the Dark Lord Sauron destroys their morals. They become idolators and tyrannical fools, and are eventually punished by the gods by having their kingdom destroyed. Only a select few – those still pure in blood and mind – are allowed to escape to the mainland in order to found a new kingdom.

In contrast to the lawful White nations of Tolkien's world, the forces of evil are a hideous mixture. The human cohorts of Sauron are coloured, and in one instance are described as: *". . . black men like half-trolls with white eyes and red tongues."*

The Orcs, a goblin-like race, are the product of terrible experiments that mutated many beautiful Elves into squat, black-skinned creatures whose speech was foul and whose faces and nostrils were broad and flat.

Tolkien makes it clear that the bastard races of evil are easily controlled by their masters. He stresses that their mongrel nature makes them well-suited as the mindless destructive minions of the Dark Lord. **Tolkien thus equates mongrelisation with evil and chaos.**

The great nations of Middle-earth are all the products of pure blood. Their civilisation will only ultimately fail if the race becomes corrupted. While the blood of the free nations remains pure, there always remains strength to resist the power of evil.

THE WARRIOR ETHOS

In the war against evil – which forms the basis of Tolkien's mythology – the free people do not seek to appease their foes but to completely destroy them. In Tolkien's world there can be no compromise with evil; you either crush it or are eventually crushed yourself. Those who are too corrupt or too weak to resist are shown no mercy. Nations such as the Rohirrim are always ready for battle, either to defend their own lands or those of their allies.

Towards the end of *The Lord of the Rings* they ride to the aid of the Men of Gondor, whose fortified city of Minas Tirith is being besieged by Sauron. They charge straight at the dusky Haradrim who come from the Southern deserts of Middle-earth:

"Southward beyond the road lay the main force of the Haradrim, and there their horsemen were gathered about the standard of their chiftain . . . Great was the clash of their meeting. But the white fury of the Northmen burned the hotter . . ."

The Men of Gondor themselves are the descendants of those few Numenoreans who escaped the destruction of their homeland thousands of years before. In the intervening years they have often acted as a buffer against expansion by racial aliens from the South and East. Thus they are similar to the Goths, who were continually fighting the Moors after the fall of Rome. Indeed, Tolkien's descriptions of the Haradrim are almost identical to the real-life invaders of Spain, Italy and much of France.

Apart from the adventures of large armies, Tolkien's work also includes tales of individual warriors standing alone against fearful odds.

In the story 'Of Beren and Luthien' which forms part of *The Silmarillion,* we read of the exploits of a young human warrior who is determined to wed the Elven princess Luthien. (It should be noted here that such relationships were tolerated by the gods only in exceptional circumstances – when the finest of both races were involved).

However, Beren can only wed Luthien if he returns to her father with a jewel stolen from the Elves and placed in the crown of Morgoth, the first Dark Lord. In the course of his quest all his companions are killed, and Beren himself is slain by a beast of Morgoth when his quest is all but over. However, the gods have watched over the exploits of Beren and are moved by his valour and his love of Luthien. The blood of this young warrior is precious to them, and so they grant Luthien's request that Beren should return to her to live as mortal man and woman.

Luthien thus forsakes the immortality of the Elves, and with Beren founds a line of great kings. Of all of Tolkien's stories, this stands out as an exquisite example of the true traditions of European folklore.

TRUE NOBILITY

In his books Tolkien expresses this sentiment in various ways. It may involve the honesty, courage and wisdom of an individual, or even perhaps the efforts and sacrifice of a whole nation.

In *The Lord of the Rings* we find examples of both individual and national nobility. A fine example of the former is Aragorn, who eventually reveals himself to be heir to the lost line of kings in Gondor. Initially, however, Aragorn has to disguise his true identity for political reasons. Thus he poses as a 'mere' Ranger – the remains of the race of Numenor in the North of Middle-earth, who have long guarded that area from the servants of evil.

As part of a group whose task it is to destroy Sauron's ring of power, his companions soon sense that he is rather more than a Ranger. They notice the aura of nobility and majesty about him, and so come to accept

him as their leader. This he achieves through the force of his own character, and not because he was 'born with a silver spoon in his mouth'. There is more than a hint of Nietzsche's Superman in his bearing.

A fearsome warrior and a wise lord, he knows when to show mercy and when to be merciless. Like all of Tolkien's heroes, he also shows a willingness to sacrifice his own interests for the sake of the greater cause.

After the death of the good wizard Gandalf, it seems that Aragorn will have to go to Mordor, (the realm of Sauron) in order to guard the Ring-bearer who must throw this symbol of Sauron's power into the Cracks of Doom – this being the only sure way to destroy him. In doing so Aragorn would lose much; his chance to defend the capital of Gondor, the throne that goes with it, the hand of the Elven princess Arwen and the hope to lead his own army against Mordor. Nevertheless, Aragorn is ready to accept this if the need of the free people demands it.

An example of the nobility of nations is provided by the Rohirrim. Although surrounded by foes, they answer Gondor's call for aid, for the breaking of oaths is a dark matter for any lawful people.

Despite their already severe losses and the damage to their land, they will not break their alliance with Gondor. After routing one of Sauron's armies before Minas Tirith, they send what warriors they can to the very gates of Mordor. With them march the scant remains of Gondor's forces, led now by Aragorn. Both nations are willing to sacrifice what little strength that remains in the hope that the Ring-bearer is still alive and might yet reach his goal if Sauron's attention is diverted by their forlorn march. Against the shield-walls of the West come the mixed-breeds of Sauron:

"All about the hills the hosts of Mordor raged. The Captains of the West were foundering in a gathering sea . . . Aragorn stood beneath his banner, silent and stern, as one lost in thought of things long past or far away; but his eyes gleamed like stars that shine the brighter as the night deepens."

Racialists will recall the stand of the Spartans at Thermopylae, the Texans at the Alamo and all the other examples of a few sacrificing themselves for the good of their people. Such are the qualities of true nobility, and Tolkien's books merely remind us of how far we have fallen into the degeneracy and rotten decline of his Numenoreans.

LOVE OF NATURE

Despite its lurking terror, much of Middle-earth remains a very beautiful place. The culture of its free people springs from its flora and fauna, its great mountains and rivers.

The exceptions to this are where evil has established itself, and althouth he does not say it in so many words, Tolkien portrays evil as unchecked industrialism.

Great woods are destroyed in order to fuel the "infernal machines" of Sauron and his ally, the treacherous wizard Saruman. Mordor itself is a lifeless land, with no beauty existing amongst its mires, slag heaps and clouds of noxious gases.

Isengard, a once splendid fortress of Gondor, is turned by Saruman into *". . . a graveyard of the unquiet dead."* Saruman is eventually thrown out of Isengard by the Ents, a race of tree-like beings, who then plant a garden that covers some of the wounds he inflicted on Isengard and the land about.

However, Saruman is not yet finished with his evil ways. Intent on spiteful revenge, he heads to the land of The Shire. Here Tolkien portrays the England he so dearly loved and in Saruman's actions the despair he felt at the gradual erosion of the countryside by 'dark satanic mills.'

The Shire is the home of the Hobbits, a race of smallish men-like creatures. Generally, they are not a very adventurous lot, preferring instead to work their own land and enjoy a mug of beer in the evening.

Saruman comes to them with a mob of alien thugs and starts to pollute and destroy this little corner of Middle-earth. When a small group of Hobbits return from the war against Sauron, they find their homeland terribly altered:

"It was one of the saddest hours of their lives. The great chimney rose up before them; and as they drew near the old village across the water, through rows of new mean houses alone each side of the road, they saw the new mill in all its frowning and dirty ugliness: a great brick building straddling the strem, which it fouled with a steaming and stinking outflow."

Many villages in Britain suffered a similar fate as the process of urbanisation and industrialism took a hold from the mid-1700s onwards. In Tolkien's world, as in our own, the process is not easily reversed. In time some of those lands touched by evil may partially recover, but for places like Mordor there is no hope. Even before the war with Sauron begins, the Wise warn that many fair things will leave the world even if he is defeated.

Just as with racial pollution, Nature offers no second chance to those who must live with the folly and desecration of others.

TOLKIEN AND POLITICS

MUCH RUBBISH has recently been written about Tolkien. Some 'experts' now say that Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* is all about the events of World War II - with Hitler becoming the Dark Lord Sauron, and Saruman a hocus-pocus Mussolini.

However, during his lifetime Tolkien always denied this implied analogy, and with the publication of his private correspondence the reasons have become very clear.

Tolkien hated Communism, and went as far as blaming the Soviet Union (much more than Nazi Germany) for the outbreak of war. As the war drew to an end, he expressed grave doubts about just what Britain would get from it. He suspected that the war could only further the interests of America and the Soviet Union.

Sauron is not Hitler, and Aragorn most certainly is not a glorified version of Winston Churchill. If we want to relate Tolkien's work to the modern world, it can only be done by using it as a measure of our own status both as individuals and as a nation. In this regard, many Britons do not come up to par. Too many have already surrendered to evil, and in Tolkien's world people who do that are in for a very nasty shock.

Having used Tolkien's private correspondence to support the Racial Nationalist Cause, it must be admitted that there are more than a few letters that are rather confusing in the light of my analysis of his works.

In some of his letters, Tolkien mentions his dislike of "racialist theories", while in others he expresses admiration for the Jews. Resolving the apparent contradictions is not difficult once one understands that Tolkien was politically, very naive.

Tolkien was motivated by 'gut feelings' but outside of his work as an artist he was duped by the Establishment liars in much the same way as most other people.

Tolkien could just not understand that what he had written was 'racialism'. To him they were quite noble and natural instincts, and could not possibly be the same thing as the 'mindless bigotry' of racialism. If theories of race seemed 'muddled' to him, it was only because he had allowed his views to be muddled by the Establishment.

As someone who described himself as a patriot and an admirer of "the noble northern spirit", it is rather hard to see him welcoming mass Immigration and the destruction of Britain's natural beauty.

His admiration for the Jews, was based on his romantic religious belief that they were still the race of prophets and sages as presented in the Bible.

He never became aware of their role in the furthering of the Communism he despised, nor did he understand their involvement in activities that were steadily eroding the moral fibre of Britain in the same way as Sauron destroyed the Numenoreans. In fact, Tolkien had portrayed the actions of Zionist Jewry more than once in his books without realising it. Had he been aware of what the Zionist Jews were doing to his "noble northern spirit" one imagines that his admiration would have been very short-lived.

One should therefore be ready to excuse Tolkien's apparent contradictions, for he found the true expression of his beliefs in his art. Here he was able to articulate the sentiments of a healthy racial soul; one untainted by the Coca-Cola culture so prevalent in this cosmopolitan age. Artists have never made very good politicians, and it would be better to see him as his great hero Aragorn, for like him he was: *"as one lost in thought of things long past or far away"*.

Charcoal sketches by Paul Matthews.

Gandalf and Frodo (opposite) Boromir (above) Gollum (right)

MAN AND NATURE

STEVE BRADY

As with all signed articles, this reflects the personal views of the author and need not be taken to be a statement of of policy by the National Front.

The next issue of New Nation *will include a reply to the issues raised here from an anti-materialist, and spiritual viewpoint. The National Front is, and will remain, a purely secular movement, leaving religious matters to the consciences of its individual members.*

WE ARE ALIVE in a world of Life, sharing the phenomenon of living with whales and walnut trees, badgers and blue-algae, and millions of other species of animal, plant, fungus and micro-organism inhabiting every conceivable niche in the waters, air and land of the Earth. But what is our relationship to this world of Nature which surrounds us? Are we a part of the living world, or apart from it? Is Man, with his philosophies, sciences and arts, his societies, spaceships and symphonies, subject to the same laws of biology and evolution as all other living things, or is he alone ruled by his own special laws of theology, psychology, sociology or economics? Is Man unique?

Following from that, is Man to conduct himself in harmony with the rest of Nature, seeing himself as unique only in that his greater intelligence and self-awareness fits him to be Nature's guardian and, perhaps, her means one day of dispersal across the great dark beyond the sky to seed other worlds in the vastness of space? Or is he instead to see himself as something separate and distinct in kind from all other living beings, the overlord and, if need be, the ruthless exploiter of the living Earth.

The answer to these questions is, as we shall see, of fundamental importance not only philosophically but in terms of practical politics and, quite possibly, in terms also of our Race's prospects for long-term survival. In this article we shall examine the nature and implications of the stance taken on this issue by the various politico-ideological tendencies currently contending for the allegiance of Western Man.

COMMON ORIGIN

On this issue Judaeo-Christianity is at one with its Liberal-Capitalist and Marxist offspring. Such unanimity reflects not merely a common historical origin in the labyrinthine recesses of the Levantine mind, but a common present requirement for the integrity and self-consistency (such as they are) of their ideological position. Whatever their differences on more superficial matters of quotidian policy, Jews, Christians, liberals, Capitalists and Communists not only do, but must stress the uniqueness of Man and his separateness from the rest of Nature, with all the practical, environmental consequences of that attitude.

To Jews and Christians, the issue is simple. Man, and Man alone, is "made in the image of God" and is the proud possessor of a "soul". Moreover, each and every man is equally so, and thus equally distinguished from the rest of the Universe, animate and inanimate. Each featherless biped, from the Cambridge professor to the Calcutta illiterate, from the saint to the Soho child brothel baron, from the foetus to the defective and the demented, is equally endowed with this mystic entity, denied utterly to everything else from the chimpanzee, the elephant or the dolphin, to the pebble on the beach. **Therein lies the root of the fundamental egalitarianism and threat to racial survival implicit in the Judaeo-Christian creed. For to that world-view any and all differences between men and between races of men pale into insignificance between the yawning gulf that separates any man, however base or primitive, from even the highest non-human life-form.**

Therein also lies a threat to the survival of all men, of whatever race. For from this attitude, and their mythology, flows an idea of Nature as something created by God for the convenience of Man, not our Mother from whom we sprang and of which we are part but an enemy to be "conquered" and a prey to be exploited, ravaged and destroyed. Taking as its text *Genesis I, v.28,* their God's command to "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth", the Western Capitalist System Judaeo-Christianity, inspired and still inspires, hacks down the forests, slaughters the wildlife, spreads the concrete cancer of giant cities ever wider across the land, encourages the dusky hordes to proliferate ever faster and gobble up ever more food and resources, and pollutes and fouls the sky, the sea and the land with an ever mounting tide of poisonous filth, effluent and lethal chemicals. A process which must end, if it be not halted first by the destruction of the System that spawned it, in the destruction of the very biosphere upon which all of Mankind depends for survival.

IMPENDING DISASTER

Even the most "anti-Capitalist" trendy "Christian Aid" type and liberal contributes to the impending disaster. For their view of Man, and of any men, as uniquely vital and important leads them to consider, for example, that ploughing up the last East African savannas to feed a few million more starving Negro peasants so they can breed still faster and proliferate their kind is far more important than preserving the areas magnificent and unique wildlife. To suggest that whilst we can always breed more Blacks we can never replace the elephant, the rhino and the great antelope herds would, because of their underlying belief in the unique status of anything with legs and no feathers, strike even such liberals as these as "inhuman". So they too will be overwhelmed in a tidal wave which, as with bacteria in a culture medium, must ultimately spend itself in exhaustion of resources and catastrophic population collapse.

Marxists may affect to deplore such "ravages of Capitalist greed". But they too share a conviction of the uniqueness of Man. Not, of course, on the grounds of his possession of an "immortal soul". Though in *The German Ideology* Marx wrote that: "Man can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like", and then proceeded to draw his own distinction on the vague and debatable grounds that Man alone "produced his means of sustenance". Other Marxists and many liberals have preferred to argue that Man alone has a learned culture, a language able to communicate complex ideas, and hence a variety of socio-economic and political systems which in turn they assert (with such a paucity of evidence advanced as scarcely to deserve the dignity of being termed an argument) determines the behavioural nature of those raised under those systems.

However, how Marxists assert the uniqueness of Man, and his independence from the laws that govern the evolution of social behaviour throughout the rest of the animal kingdom is, to them, less important than that they do so. For the whole *raison d'etre* of Marxism is that it is possible to attain "a Communist society", a process that will clearly require a fundamental alteration of human nature, turning us all from essentially moderately selfish beings normally capable of altruism only in the service of family or in support of our "in-group" (our nation, our race - or the SWP) against an identifiable "out-group" (e.g. an enemy nation, Jews, Blacks, "racists and fascists" or whatever) in to ant-like perfect altruists, willing freely to live in a Stateless society in which each contributes to the limit of his ability and takes only to the extent of his needs (perceived, naturally, in modest style!) and in which even the family, let alone the nation or the race, is a thing of the past.

In order for such a - totally unprecedented- change in human social behaviour over the relatively short timescales envisaged to be even remotely credible, Marxists must argue that human social behaviour, and hence human nature, is quite unique in that, unlike that of every other animal species, it is basically determined by each individual's environment since birth, rather than by a heredity which is itself the product of a lengthy evolutionary process. Thus they must postulate human uniqueness and if this be disproved they are utterly lost and foundered politically as well as intellectually. There is, after all, little point in being a Communist if Communism stands revealed as an unattainable utopian fantasy!

MARX'S SNEERS

There is a basic pro-urban and anti-rural prejudice in Marx's sneers at "the idiocy of rural life" and explicit in the *Communist Manifesto's* call for "the combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country" (i.e. the urbanisation of the countryside) and "the bringing into cultivation of wastelands". This Marxist assertion of Man's uniqueness and independence from Nature leads to just as environmentally-disastrous results as the similar assertion made by Judaeo-Christian Capitalists.

It is Marxists who have perpetrated the world's biggest environmental disaster so far: the spreading of deadly radioactive waste over millions of square miles of countryside around the Urals in 1958. And it is Marxists who today foul and pollute the rivers, lakes and skies of their Soviet and Chinese Empires in ruthless service of "The Plan" to a

degree their Capitalist counterparts might envy. And it is they who plot grandiose and lunatic schemes such as reversing the flow of the Siberian river systems, damming the Bering Straits, and melting the Arctic ice-cap which menace the entire global climate. For industrial sprawl, environmental damage and pollution, spawned by an identical view of Man's role in relation to Nature, there is little to choose between Capitalist and Communist. Both threaten the survival of the global ecology, and hence the survival of the Race.

Racial Nationalism, in contrast to its rival ideologies, sees Man as essentially an integral part of the natural world, created and bound by the same laws of biological evolution which created and bind all other living species. Man we regard as unique only in that he is the mammal most specialized for thinking, just as the horse is most specialized for running, the bat for flying at night, and the dolphin and the whale for swimming. Such specialisation is a product of the laws of biology, not an exception to them. Our ability to think better, like the horse's to run better, equips us better to serve the inner drives and purposes implanted in each of us by the long processes of evolution: it does not, nor is there any reason to suppose it should, grant us some mystic exemption from those evolved behavioural tendencies.

This belief is central to - though actually not crucial for the survival of - our ideological position. For we base our ideas and policies upon human nature as it is in fact observed, with its ethnocentricities, inequalities, dominance hierarchies and territorialities. We would argue that our ideas, or something very like them, alone flow from an acceptance of the human reality as it is, rather than on fantasies of a human reality that has only been imagined but never observed. And the sociobiologists have convincingly shown that for a species with our basic biology, the blind processes of evolution will tend to produce an inherent, inborn behavioural nature very like the one we in fact exhibit (see my article in *New Nation* issue 2, Autumn 1980).

Indeed, if we did not exhibit, as a hereditary set of behaviour patterns, a "human nature" like the one we do show, it would be a major biological mystery why we did not! The Marxist/liberal view of our social behaviour as being environmentally determined and highly plastic would be extremely difficult if not impossible to account for as a result of evolution by Natural Selection. Thus an acceptance of human nature as a product of the same biological processes as the natures of the other 192 species of Primate, and indeed every other animal species, apart from appearing only reasonable (why should we be an exception?) powerfully buttresses our world-view.

It is not essential to us: even our opponents, such as Leftist philosopher Martin Barker (*The New Racism,* Junction Books, 1981, p173), have admitted that our policies would work just as well even if our premise of the genesis of human nature were unfounded and theirs were correct - the same of course cannot be said for their ideas - but it does provide a hard scientific underpinning our opponents lack (and in the case of Christians seem not to want).

ONENESS WITH NATURAL WORLD

Furthermore, our belief in the essential oneness of Man with the natural world implies that the difference between Man and higher mammals, notably closely related and highly intelligent mammals such as the chimpanzee and the gorilla, is one not of kind but of degree, as far as Man's only claim to being "special", his intellect, is concerned. The distinction between a man and an "animal" (men are animals too, of course) is in our view - apart from the biological difference between Man and other species which is no more significant than the differences between those other species themselves - merely quantitative in mental terms, not qualitative. It is therefore just like the differences between the various races of Man. Thus we see no yawning abyss between "Humanity" and "Lower Animals" besides which the differences within humanity are insignificant. The difference ,to us, between a man and a chimp, may be greater in amount than the difference between a White man and a Negro, but we do not see it as being different in kind as being a different sort of difference.

Indeed, modern Science is increasingly demonstrating that chimps are much more like "humans" in both biological and intellectual terms than we had hitherto thought. We may soon have to transfer responsibility for those of them resident in Britain from the Zoo to the Race Board! Indeed, modern Science is increasingly coming to the conclusion that intellectually as well as physically, there is no qualitative difference between Man and "animals", merely a difference of quantity, a difference of degree of thinking ability, not of kind.

From this acceptance of Man as part of Nature flows also an attitude to the living world very different from that of our rival world-views. Even amongst the precursors of our modern ideology, whose ideas were often less than developed than ours, there was a reverence for Nature, a love of the healthy life of the countryside and an abhorrence of the unnatural and pathological life of the city.

Today we alone are the true "Friends of the Earth", committed by a basic tenet of our ideology, to a vision of Mankind as the wardens, not the ruler or exploiter, of the Earth, of Nature and the natural world as our trust, not our prey or our foe. Our commitment to conservation and the environment is total, and basic to our view of the world. **That doesn't mean we adopt the anti-technological cowardice of those who flee the fruits of our towering Western mind which they dare not seek to control. Instead, we would further that mighty technology by removing its environmentally destructive elements, such as mining and heavy industry from the ecosphere into Space, where its long-term future lies anyway. Thus we guard the life of the Earth without condemning our people to medieval stoop-labour and peasantry, as the intellectual cowards and men of small vision in the reactionary sentimentalist "Ecology Party" and its ilk would. Thus indeed we at once ward the Land and reach for the stars.**

EVIDENCE OF SCIENCE

Our view of the relationship of Man with Nature is thus the only one which can avert environmental catastrophe without abandoning civilization and returning to mud huts. It is also the one favoured increasingly by modern Science. And it is the only view which eschews comforting self-delusion in favour of courageously facing reality. It may be more comforting to cocoon oneself in the belief that Man is "special", that indeed the world if not the universe was created for his benefit, by a vast omnipotent entity which cares for us each and all, every one. Or one may delude oneself in the conviction that Man may be imperfect, but he is perfectible by dint of overthrowing the Government, banning the National Front and "nationalising" everything. But that doesn't make such beliefs true!

We, and we alone, have the courage to face the fact that we are simply the product of the natural laws of the Universe acting upon matter under certain physical conditions, and that there is not the least reason why such a product, not being the work of any intelligence or the result of any plan, should be special or perfect or easily perfectible. We do not despair: we accept the limitations of our biological and inherited nature in planning to improve the society in which we live, even to transform it radically. Thus we ensure that our "Revolution" will not be betrayed and end in reactionary bureaucratic tyranny.

Moreover, we perceive that whilst we can not change or wish away our evolutionary heritage we can shape our evolutionary destiny. Through a gradual ,scientific and humane programme of eugenics we can direct our own evolution towards higher orders of physical beauty and fitness and mental nobility of character and intelligence. Thus, over many millenia but with the assurance of ultimate success, we can change our human nature and perfect ourselves. **God may not have made Man in his image, but one far off day Man may well make a race of virtual Gods in our image. So we hold that our view of the relationship of Man and Nature is the best one for the future of the Race, and that it is also the most intellectually honest and courageous one.**

One more victim of pollution. Is Man entitled to do this?

RECOMMENDED READING

RACE. John R. Baker. Pb. 311 pages. Send £7.00 plus 95p postage to Nationalist Books, 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon, Surrey CRO 2QF for this, the most comprehensive book available on the subject of Race.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

The Philosophy of Saunders Lewis

DEREK HOLLAND

IT IS only in recent years that the political vocabulary of the National Front has expanded to incorporate the term ideology, a term which, although denounced by feebleminded reactionaries,is of vital importance to our struggle. Jorian Jenks in his fine work:*From the Ground Up* succintly defined ideology thus: "Ideology is the study of ideas, more especially the association of ideas in a social context."

It is through ideological development that we accurately define the problems that afflict our society, posit possible solutions and then choose the ones that appear the most appropriate; that is, we identify our ends and objectives. Once the ends have been delineated, the means, the general strategy of the party, become quantifiable. The relationship between means and ends may seem obvious, but the failure of the NF during the 1970s stems from the simple fact that most attention was concentrated upon a few means - marches and elections - and next to none on ends. Thankfully times have changed and the import of this relationship has been apprehended, resulting in a broad ideological framework that is coupled to a rudimentary, but developing strategy that is clearly achieving results. Nonetheless, the ideological deficiency of the previous decade has to be made good and there are two principal ways in which this can be done; firstly, the Party's intelligentzia must devote greater resources of time and energy to study and analysis, so that changing circumstances and developing trends can be identified, evaluated and taken account of in our strategy initiatives; secondly, we must appreciate that many profound problems that confront us have been the object of much labour by thinkers outside our circles. It is thus desirable that we read and assimilate the best aspects of their work.

NATIVE THOUGHT

It is one of the great ironies of our age that a rich and stimulating vein of ideological thought, native to these islands, has been largely ignored or even positively attacked by political illiterates. The source of inspiration to which I refer is the revolutionary Welsh nationalist tradition exemplified in the past by that fine patriot, Dr. Saunders Lewis , and more recently by the aggressive writings of Derrick Hearne. For those weaned on the myth that Welsh nationalism is necessarily 'subversive', a ploy of the Establishment, the works of these authors will come as a massive shock, for they are possessed of an urgency, a commonsense and a coherence that the NF would do well to emulate. Naturally, I am **not** saying that every word uttered by these authors is sacrosanct, but I am saying that the solution to certain problems is to be found here. It is not possible in the space of this essay to do justice to this tradition, but it is hoped that the interest of the more ideologically-inclined reader will be aroused.

Dr. Lewis was the President of *Plaid Cymru* and the editor of their monthly paper *Y Ddraig Goch - The Red Dragon* - from 1925 - 35. An able poet and playwright, he endeavoured during this period to construct a truly revolutionary philosophy and programme for Plaid, and although the lacklustre leadership of Gwynfor Evans has reduced Plaid to the status of a bourgeois reformist appendage of the Westminster Establishment the solid achievements of Lewis have largely stood the test of time.

REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY

The fundamental tenets of Dr. Lewis's philosophy were outlined in a seminal lecture (1926) entitled: *Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb - The Principles of Nationalism* - and which according to Thomas and Jones in *Presenting Saunders Lewis* remains the cornerstone of Welsh nationalist ideology. Hearne in *The Joy of Freedom* questions this assumption, but it remains that this lecture is worthy of intensive study.

Confronted by the almost continuous decline, culturally and linguistically, of Wales - a nation contemptuously designated 'The Principality' by Whitehall drones as though it were but a suburb of London - Welsh writers have suggested myriad possible causes, but the conclusions of Saunders Lewis, a Welsh Nationalist to the core, were remarkable. He wrote: "There was a deeper cause: the thing that destroyed the civilization of Wales and ruined Welsh culture, that brought about the dire plight of Wales today , was..... nationalism."

DIFFERING NATIONALISM

Clearly Lewis identified differing forms of nationalism, forms that differed in their essentials. Looking historically at the nations of Europe in the Middle Ages, Lewis pointed out that they shared one law and one civilization under the supra-national authority of the Church, a phenomenon which, despite its many manifest faults and errors, allowed that law and civilization to take on many varied forms and hues. This system of unity in diversity based upon moral law and common belief, engendered a Continent-wide spirit that differences of civilizational form or language were **not** dangerous **in themselves**, although national rivalries were extremely intense. It was felt that whatever their differences, the nations of Europe were cousins in European culture. Whilst this spirit prevailed heroic, proud Wales lived, respected as one of the oldest nations of Europe.

The divisions within the Church during the sixteenth century gave rise to a nationalism of a fundamentally different order, one where the **State** was made the ultimate good and to which everything had to relate. The State was no longer to be the servant of the People but their Master - this remains true on the purely theoretical level even if you reject the notion that it had **ever** been the servant of the People- it was the emergence of Statism and State worship so typical of reactionaries. It was perhaps inevitable that changed internal relations would find their counterpart in external relations, in relations **between** nations. Logically, the State as the supreme authority could not countenance any flouting of its power, **real or apparent**, with the result that exaggerated tensions arose between nations. Diversity could no longer be conceived of except as divisiveness ,a tragic belief that capitalists and imperialists of the nineteenth century played upon so violently that it culminated in the carnage of the 1914-18 war. The sickly state of the contemporary European nations and the presence in the corridors of power of the mental cripples who purport to lead them, shows clearly that we have never truly recovered from this blasphemous disaster.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

The new imperative of the State was the elimination of diversity. In the British Isles this led to the belief that Westminster was the totality of existence to which everything had to conform and be subordinated - it led to wars of cultural imperialism against Scotland, Ireland and Wales, wars fought by the sword and the process of anglicization. The Celtic nations were not alone in their suffering, for cultural conformity was ruthlessly pursued in England and led to the suppression of the healthy regionalisms of northern England and Cornwall. Those who lay the blame at the door of 'the English' are mistaken, for the English were the greatest **victims** as is evidenced by their highly atrophied sense of cultural identity. Westminster is **not** England, anymore than Thatcher is the voice of the British peoples. Although anglicization sounds innocuous, its practice was not; it seems almost incredible that only 80 years ago Welsh-speaking schoolchildren were punished for speaking their native tongue, many being forced to wear a wooden board about their neck saying: "Welsh Not!"

Saunders Lewis, therefore, laid the blame for the decline of Wales at the door of Statism, which we call reactionary nationalism. For Lewis the answer for Wales, the nations of the British Isles and Europe was a return to the principle of unity in diversity, though he expressly discounted a return to the medieval principle. In *Williams Pantycelyn* he declared:

"We can no longer return to the literary theory of the Middle Ages and base our work on that. Nor can we in our lifetime, hope to see an integrated society which will provide the foundation for a coherent and social art. The ideal of the Classic poets must remain ours as well. We too must endeavour towards order, wholeness and synthesis in life."

This feeling that Europe must stand together *as a genuine alliance of sovereign nation-states* and not as a continent wide piggy bank for the use of Common Market hacks is growing, a fact reflected in Nick Griffin's recent

article in *Nationalism Today (No.22)* entitled: *A Europe of the Peoples'*.

But if Saunders Lewis rejected reactionary nationalism ,it doesn't mean he subscribed to a sentimentalist nationalism. On the contrary, he regarded his nationalism as a profoundly spiritual force, which properly channelled, could help men overcome enormous material difficulties. He declared: "There is nothing like the sense of belonging to a noble country and to courageous ancestors for inspiring youth to heroism. Nationalism is above all a fountain head of heroism and of brave resolve. It gives a beaten people hope. It gives them resourcefulness and drives away apathy and cynicism and selfishness. It rouses them to co-operation and it kills obstruction and the spirit that says 'No' "

But why does Dr. Lewis seek this new nationalism for Wales? He believes a return to the principle of unity in diversity between nations will lead naturally to changed relations internally. Culture and politics, he maintains, go hand in hand. As a result, the objective he strives for is a Welsh monolingualism -introduced over a number of decades so as to preclude unnecessary upheaval - an objective that may seem extreme at first sight to British patriots, but which has a worthy end. "To create a Welsh-speaking Wales is the surest way of building a country within which the oppression of international capitalism can not dwell. Of course, our socialist friends are quite unable to grasp this, so enmeshed are they in the coils of nineteenth century materialism that they do not see that economic oppression will ultimately be defeated by spiritual forces." Clearly Lewis believes that a people alienated from their cultural roots will inevitably succumb to all manner of exploitation, the answer lying in a cultural revival.

COMMUNITY OF COMMUNITIES

For Dr. Lewis the principles that will govern future relations between the nations of the British Isles are essentially the same as will determine the new social order in a National Revolutionary Wales: interdependence, co-operation and the free association of organic or functional groups. These principles derive from his conception of a nation, a conception given expression in his play *Canlyn Arthur* as "a community of communities" . He held that between Individual and State there had to be an infrastructure that would protect and defend an individual's freedom, a freedom that is precious but fragile and allergic to the deadweight of the State. He defined infrastructure as the family, Church, professions, trades, clubs and associations that can and must exist in immense profusion giving an insight into the nature of State and Society: "Family and tribe existed prior to the state, and voluntary organizations existed prior to the authority of sovereign government. A nation's civilization is rich and complex simply because it is a community of communities, and for that reason also the freedom of the individual is a feasible proposition. His liberty depends on his being a member not of one association but of many."

It was thus the objective of all social policy to strengthen these lesser associations; his *10 Points of Policy* published in 1933 reflected this concern. He differentiated between Nation and State, noting the former was an organic being similar in many respects to the human person, whilst the latter was a machinery at the service of the nation. From this distinction he argued the economic unit must, as far as possible, correlate with the political and social unit. For Lewis, "Capitalism is one of the prime enemies of nationalism" because it destroys the sense of community essential to a healthy nation through its insistence upon competition - a civil war of all against all which contradicts the Nationalist and communitarian ethic of individual Good within and part of the Common Good. His solution to the cancer of capitalism was not 'socialism' , which he regarded as the complementary of capitalism, but the widespread diffusion of capital. Such a Distributist policy should come as no surprise to British patriots, for Dr. Lewis's intellectual and inspirational sources included G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, although his Thomist dialectics reveals the stamp of Maurice Barres, Jacques Maritain and the French traditional school.

Nonetheless, one can almost hear Belloc when Lewis states: "For the moral wellbeing of Wales and for the health, moral and physical, of its people, there must be a deindustrialization of South Wales." In other writings Dr. Lewis makes it clear he utterly rejects industrial conurbations and posits against them worker-controlled light industry distributed organically across the country, so that the beauty of God's creation would replace contemporary capitalist eyesores. Certainly the technology of this decade has made the Doctor's proposal both feasible and highly desirable.

POLITICO—SPIRITUAL ELITE

How was the new society to come into being? Thomas & Jones paraphrasing Lewis stated: *"a society, a country, a nation must have an elite, political, cultural and spiritual, whose role is not to enjoy any special privileges but to shoulder tasks with which the ordinary man cannot be expected to cope - to set the tone of a society's culture and "to lead a country by suffering for it and thinking for it." "*

Saunders Lewis was a living example that disproved the reactionary lie that those committed to ideology only produce hot air, for he demonstrated that Ideology and Action are a Unity or they are nothing. He was a man who showed National Revolution is a Way of Life for militants ,not a hobby; people do not die for hobbies, but they do for Absolute Ideals.

The questions that arise from reading Dr. Lewis are numerous: How do we define British Nationalism? Is it something that must obliterate the traditions of Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the regions of England? Does British Nationalism mean just Westminster government? Must it mean uniformity and conformity?

Or is British Nationalism something almost intangible that springs from the unity in diversity that could and should exist in these islands and which lingers deep in the psyche of our peoples? Is it really true that to be a British Nationalist you must repudiate, say your Scottish origins or your love of Cornwall?

For this writer the future of the peoples of the British Isles is necessarily a common one, but it must be a future that rejects cultural imperialism. It must embody the principles of partnership, co-operation and comradeship, principles that derive from the belief that the talents, customs, eccentricities and Celtic languages of these islands are worth preserving. If this new, organic relationship between our kindred peoples does not materialize, none of them will have a future in a world hostile to nations and cultural identity. We must stand together on the basis that organic unity means Life, fratricidal separatism means Death. The British National Revolution must commit itself to Unity in Diversity.

Recommended Reading.

The Principles of Nationalism . . . . S. Lewis.
Presenting Saunders Lewis . , ... Thomas .
The Joy of Freedom . . . . Derrick Hearne.
The ABC of the Welsh Revolution – Hearne.

KOSHER BURGER FELLAHEEN

Strange, the dust of our dominion . . .
Too well we loved, too well . . .
Freedom, laughter, such illusions,
Perish with unhappy fate.
Ruin creeps upon us now,
And yet my heart cries out for you . . .

Too late . . . . . .

The fellaheen were high on Cola
As the sweet young things went down,
Crushed beneath synthetic freedom,
Golden calfs and Babel brown:

Behind them, in the gloom of Soho,
Salome danced for Mr. B -;
Her tasteful rouge dripped off his pinstripes,
Poisoning the Eden-Tree.

And there, or maybe by the Tower,
The Old Pretender changed his face;
Bloated like a cellar mushroom,
Chosen for his Chosen Race.

Drumbeats from a church in Brixton
Announced the Old Religion's fall;
The odd disciple stood there, laughing:
Jehovah in a greasy shawl.

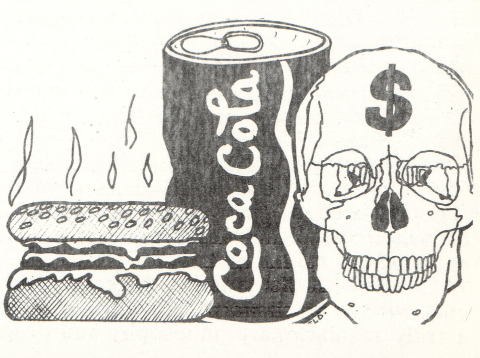
Went punting down the Western Ganges,
Preaching to the fellaheen;
Fire and a screaming siren
Marked the place where we had been

Too carefree with our English welcome,
Or else our voice was different then;
Before our skin had touched oblivion,
Worshipping unfeeling men.

The fellaheen squat in the Twilight,
Basking by the flaking Tower;
The stone has perished with the people,
With ruin comes another power . . . .

The Khazar lord is by his temple,
A star is glinting on his chest;
He knew the rat must taste corruption,
He saw that city filth was best.

PAUL COMBEN.



THE ROAD TO NATIONALISM VIA WIGAN PIER

JOE PEARCE

GEORGE ORWELL is an enigma. To many he was an outright Marxist, to others he was an uncommitted cynic, whilst to some he was a secret Nationalist. Orwell's own words may throw some light onto what is the truth of the matter.

He described himself as a member of the "lower-upper-middle class" and admitted frankly that he was a snob during his early life: "I was very young, not much more than six,when I first became aware of class distinctions. Before that age my heroes had been generally working class people, because they always seemed to do such interesting things, such as being fishermen and blacksmiths and bricklayers. I remember the farm hands on a farm in Cornwall who used to let me ride on the drill when they were sowing turnips and would sometimes catch the ewes and milk them to give me a drink; and the workmen building the new house next door, who let me play with the wet mortar; and the plumber up the road with whose children I used to go out bird-nesting. But it was not long before I was told to keep away from them ......So, very early, the working class ceased to be a race of friendly and wonderful beings and became a race of enemies .... To me in my early boyhood, to nearly all children of families like mine, 'common' people seemed almost sub-human".
(The Road to Wigan Pier. Pages 109 & 110).

'BOLSHIE'

He finished his education at a public school and it was here that he first encountered the upsurge of Marxist sympathy among the rich upper classes: "For several years it was all the fashion to be a 'Bolshie', as people then called it ...... We retained, basically, the snobbish outlook of our class, we took it for granted that we could continue to draw our dividends or tumble into soft jobs, but also it seemed natural for us to be 'agin the Government'. " (Page 121).

This then was the first apparent contradiction to confront Orwell. He was a member of the privileged class, yet he felt that the system which bestowed upon him the privileges was plainly unjust.

But even as Orwell's Marxism began to rise to the surface he managed to maintain the snobbishness of his childhood. "Looking back upon that period" he wrote, "I seem to have spent half the time in denouncing the capitalist system and the other half in raging over the insolence of bus-conductors."

The Road to Wigan Pier was written in 1936 at a time when Orwell's fundamental ideas were undergoing a major metamorphosis. Only months before he had been an ideological young Marxist who still maintained elements of his earlier snobbery, but by the time the book was completed his ideas had changed radically.

As a result of his research for this book, which required him to live for long periods with working class families in Yorkshire and Lancashire, Orwell became aware that the bourgeois theoreticians of the Marxist Left had little, if anything, in common with the working class who they were supposed to represent. With this in mind, Orwell launched a scathing attack on the Marxist Left which meant that the Left Book Club, who had originally commissioned the book, got rather more than they bargained for when the book was published!

This extract from page 154 demonstrates Orwell's awareness of the essentially alien nature of Marxism: "As for the technical jargon of the Communists ,it is as far removed from the common speech as the language of a mathematical textbook. I remember hearing a professional Communist speaker address a working class audience. His speech was the usual bookish stuff, full of long sentences and parentheses and 'Notwithstanding' and 'Be that as it may' , besides the usual jargon of 'ideology' and 'class consciousness' and 'proletarian solidarity 'and all the rest of it. After him a Lancashire working man got up and spoke to the crowd in their own broad lingo. There was not much doubt which of the two was nearer to his audience, but I do not suppose for a moment that the Lancashire working man was an orthodox Communist."

ENLIGHTENING

However, perhaps the most enlightening insight into Orwell's **deeper** beliefs comes in the penultimate chapter of the book. In this chapter he accepts grudgingly that some form of collectivism is necessary and inevitable; yet it is made perfectly clear that he laments the the onslaught of mechanisation and the destruction of healthy values which accompanies it. This is an aspect of Orwell's ideology which is generally overlooked by scholars who wish to solve the enigmatic nature of his beliefs, and it is a very important aspect of his ideology indeed since it moves Orwell inextricably towards the Nationalist camp.

The paradoxical nature of Orwell's Marxism is shown in these two lengthy quotations from chapter twelve:

"The first thing to notice is that the idea of Socialism is bound up, more or less inextricably with the idea of machine production. Socialism is essentially an **urban** creed. It grew up more or less concurrently with industrialism, it has always had its roots in the town proletariat and the town intellectual, and it is doubtful whether it could ever have arisen in any but an industrial society." (Page 164).

and:

"Like a drug, the machine is useful, dangerous, and habit-forming. The oftener one surrenders to it the tighter its grip becomes. You have only to look about you at this moment to realize with what sinister speed the machine is getting us into its power. To begin with, there is the frightful debauchery of taste that has already been effected by a century of mechanization. This is almost too obvious and too generally admitted to need pointing out. But as a single instance, take taste in its narrowest sense - the taste for decent food. In the highly mechanized countries, thanks to tinned foods, cold storage, synthetic flavouring matters, etc., the palate is almost a dead organ. As you can see by looking at any greengrocer's shop, what the majority of English people mean by an apple is a lump of highly-coloured cotton wool from America or Australia; they will devour these things, apparently with pleasure, and let the English apples rot under the trees. It is the shiny, standardized, machine-made look of the American apple that appeals to them; the superior taste of the English apple is something they simply do not notice. Or look at the factory-made ,foil-wrapped cheese and 'blended' butter in any grocer's; look at the hideous rows of tins which usurp more and more of the space in any food-shop ,even a dairy; look at a sixpenny Swiss roll or a twopenny ice-cream; look at the filthy chemical by-product that people will pour down their throats under the name of beer. Wherever you look you will see some slick machine-made article triumphing over the old-fashioned article that still tastes of something other than sawdust. And what applies to food applies also to furniture, houses, clothes, books, amusements, and everything else that makes up our environment. There are now millions of people, and they are increasing every year, to whom the blaring of a radio is not only a more acceptable but a more normal background to their thoughts than the lowing of cattle or the song of birds. The mechanization of the world could never proceed very far while taste, even the taste-buds of the tongue, remained uncorrupted, because in that case most of the products of the machine would be simply unwanted. In a healthy world there would be no demand for tinned foods, aspirins, gramophones, gaspipe chairs, machine guns, daily newspapers, telephones, motor-cars, etc., and on the other hand there would be a constant demand for the things the machine cannot produce. But meanwhile the machine is here, and its corrupting effects are almost irresistible. One inveighs against it, but one goes on using it. Even a bare-arse savage, given the chance, will learn the vices of civilization within a few months. Mechanization leads to the decay of taste, the decay of taste leads to the demand for machine-made articles and hence to more mechanization, and so a vicious circle is established."

In the first of these two quotations Orwell is saying that Marxian socialism is unavoidably linked to mechanization, yet in the second quote he gives a lengthy analysis of the evils of mechanization and concludes that it wouldn't exist in a healthy world.

The conclusions to be drawn from this are

Soup kitchen, Rotherham 1926. Scenes like this were all too familiar to Orwell.

two-fold. On the one hand he discloses that he doesn't view Marxism as an ideal solution, but only as the lesser of two evils; whilst on the other hand he shows himself to be remarkably close to the radical Nationalist ideological line in his dislike of mechanization and his displeasure at the corruption of taste which it causes.

However, it would be unfair, not to say totally untrue, to claim Orwell was a Nationalist at the time he wrote *The Road to Wigan Pier*. In fact, he was hostile to many fundamental principles of Nationalism at the time he wrote the book. Even so, *The Road to Wigan Pier* is particularly important to any understanding of Orwellian thought because the book marked a very important crossroads in the philosophical development of one of this century's greatest writers.

BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS

Because he was required to live with working class miners' families to do the background research for the book, he came to respect the ordinary British working man and came to despise the bourgeois intellectuals who comprised the bulk of the Marxist movement in Britain.

Without doubt, Orwell was still a committed Marxist at the time he wrote *The Road to Wigan Pier;* but this book showed the first signs of disillusionment, a disillusionment which continued to grow so that he had completely distanced himself from the Marxist fold by the time he wrote *1984* twelve years later.

Orwell's anti-Marxism developed following the Spanish Civil War when his book, *Homage to Catalonia,* seriously offended the Left. Later still, developments in Europe and Russia during the Second World War, along with his intense dislike for Stalin, led Orwell to write the first of his two really great works, *Animal Farm,* which was published in 1945.

Animal Farm signalled Orwell's final split with Marxism. In this brilliant fable, he shows the corruption inherent and endemic in any state centralist regime.

There are obvious parallels between the happenings on "Animal Farm" and the history of Soviet Russia from the time of the Bolshevik Revolution right up to the final consolidation of power by Stalin, but the moral expounded in *Animal Farm* is timeless and is applicable to any society where the State is allowed to become all powerful.

His final masterpiece, *1984*, has been written off by Marxists, desperate to maintain Orwell as one of 'theirs' ,as being purely 'anti-fascist'. Yet, in reality, *1984,* like *Animal Farm,* is a condemnation of all dictatorships. It isn't simply anti-fascist anymore than it is simply anti-communist; it is, above all else, anti-centralist. And, being anti-centralist again puts Orwell more firmly in the Nationalist camp than the Marxist camp since the decentralization of economic and political power is an integral part of Nationalist ideology.

ANTI-INTERNATIONALIST

Furthermore, *1984,* by implication, is anti-internationalist. In the nightmare world which Orwell envisages nation states do not exist but only the three enormous regions of Oceania, Eastasia and Eurasia. In *1984* the area which used to be Britain is now obviously under American control and its currency is dollars. It also seems extremely likely that Orwell envisaged Oceania to be under American domination, Eurasia under Russian domination and Eastasia under Chinese domination.

George Orwell was never a thorough-going Nationalist in the true sense of the word, yet he appeared to be moving towards the Nationalist viewpoint inextricably and consistently as time went by. Certainly he was closer to the Nationalist position than he was to the Marxist one by the time of his death in 1950.

And that begs another question. Orwell died of tuberculosis when he was still comparatively young at the age of forty-six. He seemed to be moving towards the Nationalist camp and one wonders if he would ever have reached it properly if death hadn't so cruelly blocked his way.

Clearly, George Orwell is still an enigma.

The Road to Wigan Pier. *Price £1.75 plus 27p postage.*

Animal Farm. *Price £1.95 plus 27p postage.*

1984. *Price £1.95 plus 27p postage.*

All of these three George Orwell books are available from the Nationalist Bookshop, 50, Pawsons Road, Croydon, Surrey, CRO 2QF. Cheques/postal orders made payable to 'Nationalist Books'.

D.H. LAWRENCE

WHAT HAVE THEY DONE TO YOU?

What have they done to you, men of the masses
creeping back and forth to work?

What have they done to you, the saviours of the people?

Alas, they have saved you from yourself,
from your own body, saved you from living your own life.

And given you this jig-jig-jig
tick-tick-ticking of machines,
this life which is no-man's life.

Oh a no-man's-life in a no-man's land
this is what they've given you
in place of your own life.

WANTED

NEW WRITERS FOR NEW NATION

THE EDITOR is always very happy to welcome new writers for *New Nation*.

We would like in particular to see articles by people, such as historians, musicians and scientists, writing in their own field. We are open to suggestions on subjects to be covered, but will be pleased to consider any material likely to be of interest to our readers.

We would like, for example, to run features on the thought and works of William Blake, Shelley and D.H. Lawrence.

Articles and photographs on traditional British folk customs and on the beautiful and varied landscapes of the British Isles would also be much appreciated.

Articles should be between 1,200 to 2,500 words long and typed in double spacing. Photographs should be black and white.

Fight on after you've gone!

One of the greatest regrets our active members – and especially our oldest active members – have is that they will not be able to carry on fighting for the cause for ever!

In 1980 the financial survival of the Party was ensured by the bequest of one of our deceased members. That member was never to know what a vital part she played in the history of our Movement but that does not detract from her contribution.

The party is always in need of money to enable it to carry out activities that are necessary to the development of the Party but periodically we need money to **survive**. Make sure that you remember the Party when you make out your Will. If you have already written your Will, add a codicil for the benefit of the Party. Remember, it could be **your** bequest that ensures the survival of our Party and our Nation or enables it to make a vital break-through.

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DE RIVERA AND THE FALANGE

HOWARD HAWKESLEY

OF ALL the Nationalist groups which existed in Europe in the 1930s, the Spanish Falange is one of the most interesting yet enigmatic. Here we give a glimpse of the movement and the man who founded and led it.

JOSE ANTONIO PRIMO DE RIVERA was born the eldest son of the army general Miguel Primo de Rivera who seized power in Spain in a military coup in 1923. The regime, which was based on the simplistic theme of 'National Unity' typical of military dictatorships, lasted seven years. As a young man, Jose Antonio was haunted by his father's demise and developed a dislike of generals and liberal intellectuals who he felt had let his father down.

Spain in the early 1930s had a very wide and confusing political spectrum, ranging from Monarchists, Catholics and Republican rightists, to Liberals, moderate Socialists, Anarchists and Marxists of every hue. Attempts were also made to start Nationalist and National Syndicalist parties by various combinations of people who hailed from both the extreme Left and Right.

At the same time, many Capitalists, afraid of the growing power of organised labour, were looking to finance working class patriotic groups and moderate Socialists in an attempt to safeguard their own positions.

PUBLIC MEETING

Against this background, the Falange was launched at a public meeting in Madrid on October 29th 1933. An audience of 2,000 packed the hall. Although other speakers were present, Jose Antonio's address was the highpoint of the occasion. The following quotation serves to illustrate the style of the man and the ethic which he imposed on the new movement:

"But our movement would not be understood at all if it were believed to be only a manner of thinking. It is not a manner of thinking; it is a manner of being. We must not merely propose for ourselves a formal construction .... in each one of our acts, we must adopt a complete, profound and human attitude. This attitude is the spirit of sacrifice and service, the ascetic and military sense of life."

"Henceforth, let no-one think that we recruit men in order to offer rewards; let no-one imagine that we join together in defence of privileges. I should like to have this microphone before me carry my voice into every last working class home to say: Yes, we wear ties; yes, you may say of us that we are **senoritos.** *But we urge a spirit of struggle for things that cannot concern us as* **senoritos**; *we come to fight so that hard and just sacrifices may be imposed on many of our class, and we come to struggle for a totalitarian state that can reach the humble as well as the powerful with its benefits."*

Such sentiments, uniquely Nationalist, brought an initial response from many conservative elements, ex-army men and monarchists, who sought to infiltrate the movement (the Falange being anti-Monarchy in outlook). Money too was not in short supply, for some was undoubtedly donated by Spanish capitalists for the reasons mentioned earlier.

In its early days, the movement reflected the poetic and spiritual nature of its leading figure. Jose Antonio was a man of great charm and eloquence. In fact, his character did not fit the aggressive mould of contemporary fascist leaders. One of his Party comrades, Juan Antonio Ansaldo, was moved to comment that he was in fact closer to the ideal image for the President of the International Anti-Fascist League!

Certainly, Jose Antonio had no great grasp of practical economics and his whole political programme was shrouded in vagueness. This shortcoming was partly rectified early in 1934, when the Falange merged with the Junta de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista - J.O.N.S. - led by Ramos Ramiro Ledesma.

But the radical syndicalism of the J.O.N.S. alienated many of the conservatives in the Falange and led to the gradual withdrawal of funds and severe financial difficulties. At the same time, Marxist terrorists, recognising the potential of the Falange, began a campaign of murder against its members.

Still revered. Jose Antonio's portrait is carried on a Spanish Nationalist demonstration.

At first, Jose Antonio refused to sanction any reprisals, stating that *"the Falange in no way resembles a criminal organization, and it does not intend to copy the methods of such organizations, no matter how many provocations it may receive."*

When the killings continued, however, much pressure was brought to bear by Party militants and the leader relented. So began a series of tit-for-tat assassinations which formed part of the growing violence in an increasingly unstable Spain. Jose Antonio's lack of militancy and aggression continued to cause much friction between him and the " left-wing " Nationalist Ledesma, resulting in the latter eventually being forced out of the Party.

When a Red rebellion broke out against the Republic's Centre-Right government in October 1934, the Falange militia was ordered to suppress it. Yet once the revolt was crushed, Jose Antonio set about publicly criticising the rightist government for being responsible for the conditions that prompted the attempted coup:

"The strength of the revolution lies in the fact that revolutionaries have had a mystique - a satanic mystique if you prefer - a mystical sense of revolution. To counteract that mystical sense of revolution, neither society nor the government has been able to present a mystical sense of permanent duty .... Do men become revolutionaries to gain two pesetas more or work one hour less? .... no-one risks his life for material possessions. One must be full of mystical fervour for a religion, for a fatherland, or for a vision of a new society. It is such fervour which makes the miners of Asturias strong and dangerous."

During the next year the Falange leader developed his political thinking. *"Fascism"*, he declared *"is a universal attitude of return to one's national essence".* He talked more about economic reform, nationalising credit and explained his attitude to capitalism. *"When we speak of capitalism, we are not talking about property. Private property is the opposite of capitalism. Property is the direct projection of man on his possessions; it is an essential human attribute. Capitalism has been substituting for this human property the technical instrument of economic domination."*

The positive nature of the movement was stressed:

"The anti-somethings, no matter what their somethings may be, seem to be imbued with residues of Spanish **senoritismo**, *which is actively, yet unthinkingly, opposed to anything its subject does not participate in. I am not even anti-Marxist or anti-Communist or anti-anything. The 'antis' are banished from my lexicon, like all other barriers to ideas."*

After being accused of "Bolshevism" by right-wingers, Jose Antonio retorted:

"Bolshevism is essentially an attitude of worldly materialism. He who arrives at Bolshevism makes his point of departure a purely economic interpretation of history. Hence, anti-Bolshevism is very clearly the position which looks at the world from a spiritual perspective........ we who today sacrifice comforts and advantages in order to achieve a readjustment in the world, without failing the spiritual aspect, are the negation of Bolshevism. On the other hand those who clutch desperately to the continued enjoyment of gratuitous luxuries, those who consider the satisfaction of their most petty whims so much more urgent than relief of the hunger of the people, are the real Bolsheviks. **Theirs is a Bolshevism of frightful refinement - the Bolshevism of the Privileged!"**

COALITION

Yet despite the anti-capitalist nature of his propaganda, Jose Antonio sought to join the Falange to the Rightist coalition that was being formed to combat the Left's 'Popular Front' in the 1936 elections. The Right was not greatly interested and the conditions laid down unacceptable. Indeed, when the Popular Front triumphed, many in the Falange rejoiced.

Approaches were also made to one of the leading non-Marxist Socialists, Indalecio Prieto, to form an alliance, even to the point of offering him the leadership of a united Socialist Falange. Prieto refused to negotiate.

The months following the election saw Falangist militiamen being drawn into frequent gun battles with the Left. Within a short time the Falange was banned and its leaders imprisoned.

When the Civil War proper broke out, Jose Antonio was left to agonise in prison over the fate of his country and the part his now disorganised Falange should play. In a letter to his friend, the Liberal politician Miguel

WHAT ARE THEY FRIGHTENED OF?

IAN ANDERSON

Just as Darwin's theory of evolution created uproar amongst the biological and the politico-religious establishment of the later 19th century, so the new science of Sociobiology is upsetting the biologists and the political establishment of the 1980's. In many ways the arguments are following remarkably similar lines as are the areas from where the protagonists are emerging.

Many of the new breed of sociobiologists are bright young academics who are eagerly investigating this whole new area of study. They come to their subject with an open mind and without positions which might be prejudiced by their findings. Lining up against them are established anthropologists, psychologists, palaentologists and zoologists who clearly see the new science as a threat to their positions and their reputations.

Also worried by the emergence of this new science is a wide range of sociologists and politicians who see many of their pet theories threatened by these new investigations. At the least they will have to re-examine many aspects of their knowledge, at the worst their most basic assumptions about man are being challenged.

VALIDITY

Another way in which the current arguments parallel the furore which greeted Darwin is the way in which the critics will argue about almost anything except the validity of the theory. Sociobiology is criticised for potentially endorsing private enterprise, racialism,nationalism. It is condemned for having nothing new to offer. It is attacked for considering human beings in the same way as other members of the animal kingdom. **What is all too rarely discussed is whether or not sociobiology is a theory which explains the behaviour of living organisms – including man.**

So, what is this new theory which is causing so much controversy? The essence of sociobiological theory is that is identifies what all life forms strive for. Throughout history the question of Man's fundamental purpose has given rise to many theories. Christians believe that we are made in the image of God and that we strive to do his bidding. Marxists and capitalists believe that we are striving to improve our material conditions. Freudian psychologists believe the main aim of life is sexual. Some theories are purely speculative whilst others claim to have some evidence to support some aspects of them. None proposes a theory that explains human behaviour successfully.

The basis of sociobiology is that the aim of Man, as well as other living organisms, is to maximise the number of genes similar to his own in future generations or in other words to maximise their future genetic representation. It is this over-riding drive which provides the basis for all human behaviour and which will provide boundaries within which different human behaviour will normally fall. Although it is a new theory, there is already a substantial body of evidence which supports such an idea.

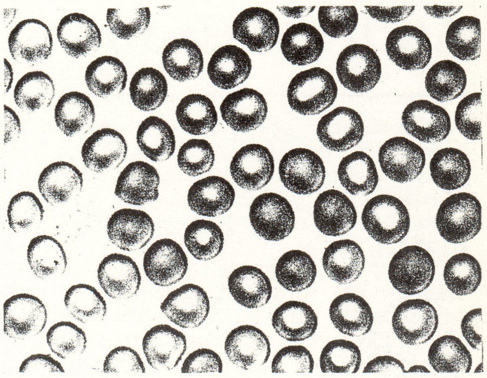
One very small example of this evidence is the undisputed fact that monkeys that are brought up with no experience of snakes still show fear when brought into contact with them for the first time. This can only be explained if there is some form of genetic programming to avoid snakes.

There is nothing remarkable about this, it's almost universally accepted that our genes affect factors such as height, skin colour and other physical characteristics which are the product of our chemical make-up. Why is it so difficult to accept that our behaviour is also affected by our genetic inheritance? No serious sociobiologist would claim that our behaviour is solely defined by our genes – that would make us all some form of automaton – clearly our environment affects our behavour as well. What sociobiology claims is that our genes provide a broad basis of behaviour which will be modified by our environmental experience but that this modification can never over-ride the central core of the theory which demands the maximisation of genetic representation in future generations.

UNCOMFORTABLE

There are many consequences of such a theory which are distinctly uncomfortable for liberal multiracialists. The theory lends support for racial prejudices, for favouring those who are more nearly related. it discounts the primacy of both the material and the sexual drive, while explaining the natural occurrence of true altruism.

Such blasphemies to a multiracialist, materialist and greedy establishment, are simply not tolerated. Sobiobiology must be stopped. Wheeled onto a recent television 'debate' were two dinosaur-like protagonists who were to oppose the much younger sociobiologist, Dr. Robert Trivers of the University of California (note the television's usual sense of fair play).



Human Chromosones. Magnification x 2,160

Professor Lewontin, biologist and palaeontologist from Harvard University demanded that this new theory should immediately be able to make grandious predictions otherwise it should be ignored. He then made the claim that it was an experimental fact that there were no genes for speaking different languages. When it was pointed out that no such experimental data had been collected the subject was quickly changed. To establish such a 'fact' it would be necessary to examine children whose parents spoke one language but who had been entirely brought up by parents who spoke a different language, and then to see how well the children spoke their 'adopted language'. Very difficult, of unknown result – but certainly not an "experimental fact".

Professor Harris, anthropologist of Florida University, joined in the attack by announcing that:

"Sociobiologists believe human beings are pre-programmed to switch from infanticide to mother love, from cannibalism to vegetarianism, from war to peace whenever the appropriate conditions are present".

He further announced that:

"To understand this, it is not necessary to suggest any genetic underpinning". All very interesting but it completely ignores the question of whether the theory is correct and does provide an explanation as to human behaviour.

What really infuriated the older biologists, was when Professor Robert Trivers talked of "kinship reasoning" whereby relatives are valued according to nearness of relatedness. Without arguing the data they blandly stated that this was incorrect – had a sore nerve been touched? It certainly seemed so.

The battle against evolution by natural selection of genetically inherited factors was waged by clerics, politicians, even whole governments – but in the long run the idea won. Sociobiology is under similar attack, some of the younger sociobiologists are surprised at the vehemence and some may even find their lines of research being unexpectedly blocked or their careers threatened. **This new powerful theory of sociobiology threatens to bring tumbling down the establishment's whole house of cards and they will do anything to prevent this. However they will find that scientific facts are impossible to suppress no matter how inconvenient they are.**

Maura, he prophesied with uncanny accuracy the way the war would end up *"giving us either an essay in cruel and filthy Bolshevism or a flatulent representation of short-sighted patriotism under the direction of some bloated figure from the Right"*.

The Falange's only, but faint ,hope was to exercise some kind of ideological influence over the military. But that was the last thing the Generals had in mind. With Jose Antonio's execution in a Republican jail, Franco effectively hijacked the movement, banished its leaders, and eventually turned it into a State Party. The Falange as a radical force was doomed.

What can we learn from the Falange's failure? A striking feature is its leader's apparent confusion as to where the movement lay in relation to the political spectrum and his tendency to fall back into the arms of the Right as the lesser of two evils. This confusion was reflected by the membership's lack of unity and in-depth knowledge of the Party's ideas and direction.

This helped to prevent the movement propagate its ideas at grass roots level. Although the Party consisted largely of lower middle and working class people, it made no great inroads into working class consciousness. Being isolated in this way, the Falange was forced to hold olive branches to groups it would otherwise have avoided.

The dilemma is mirrored in the attitudes of some Nationalists in Britain today. They exhibit the same dangerous hang-ups which result in them deliberately avoiding the real targets.

The soulless, decadent, cosmopolitan nature of this country has been brought about under a capitalist System and Establishment. It is the upholders of the System who are the main enemy, not the Marxists who are merely their irritating lackies. It is vital that, unlike the Falange, we know our real enemies.

BACK TO THE LAND

Andrew Brons reviews Jan Marsh's book

"Our collective pastoralism, it seems to me, is the most long lasting effect of the back-to-the land movement. Despite its failure in economic and political terms, it has in fact triumphed in terms of popular beliefs and attitudes."

That may not appear to be a monumental achievement. Rural life appears to us to be self-evidently superior to the 'unnatural' life of the city but it is not an attitude that has always prevailed. In the words of Jan Marsh, "For centuries, rural folk had been regarded and portrayed in literature as dull-witted bumpkins, honest perhaps, but entirely lacking in intellect and the higher virtues."

ROMANTIC RESURGENCE

M/s Marsh gives a lot of the credit for the rehabilitation of the reputation and status of agricultural labourers to the writings of George Sturt who wrote under the name of George Bourne, in particular, *The Bettesworth Book:- Talks with a Surrey Peasant (*1901) . The responsibility for much of the development of a romantic resurgence of love of country was given to a pantheon of Victorian and Edwardian novelists, essayists, artists, and poets. She mentioned Thomas Hardy, Richard Jefferies, Edith Holden (who wrote *Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady),* E.M. Forster the poet A.E. Housman, the artist Helen Allingham, the water-colourist Birket Foster and, of course, the major 'Nature Worshipper' poets – Tennyson, Arnold, Meredith and Swinburne. Less obviously but thoroughly convincingly she included Kenneth Graham (author of *Wind in the Willows*), and especially the enthralling and mystifying chapter, *The Piper at the Gates of Dawn.*

By way of contrast, the horrors of urban and industrial conditions were depicted in Dickens later novels - especially *Hard Times* and *Our Mutual Friend.*

If there had been a single 'Back to the Land' movement in Late Victorian and Edwardian England, we might more objectively measure its success. Moreover, if there had been a single movement, it might have been undeniably successful by any criteria. However, as Jan Marsh's book illustrates, there were concurrently and consecutively many different, usually complementary but sometimes contradictory, movements. First and most important was the attempt to reverse the flood from country to town by re-establishing the urban population in agriculture. Nevertheless, there was also:- the revival of traditional crafts; the attempt to spread the knowledge and practice of folk songs and dancing; the garden city movement ;the defence of common land from enclosure; the re-direction of workhouses to rural surroundings; the establishment of schools imbued with a ruralist philosophy; and even the (occasionally) eccentric "rational dress and diet" fashion.

The irony is that, by the time the various movements had become established, the rural/agricultural population had dwindled to a fraction of its former size. Between 1801 and 1911, the urban population rose from 20% to 80%.

Apart from the emotive appeals for rural revival from the arts, there was the simple rational analysis of the American economist, Henry George,who in his *Progress and Poverty,* identified, "the great primary wrong - the appropriation by a few, of the land on which and from which we all must live." His remedy was a single tax which would be levied on land. This would, he thought, lead to "land for the people" .

She quotes the early Labour Party's Bob Blatchford who proposed a restriction of industry and extraction to the size necessary, "for the supply of our own people", and a corresponding move of the people back to the land.

M/s Marsh paid particular attention to the ideas of John Ruskin, William Morris and Edward Carpenter. Ruskin condemned the production of things that were neither necessary nor inventive; products with an unnecessarily exact finish; and imitation products. He considered that the working man had been (in M/s Marsh's words), "unjustly and unnaturally coerced into industrial employment." Ruskin was not just a writer - a prophet of ruralism. The subscribers to his *St. George's Guild* were asked to donate a tenth of their income or wealth to enable the Guild to buy land to be farmed either by individuals or co-operatives. The Guild was not only interested in agriculture. It also provided an interest-free loan to re-establish a Manx Woollen Industry at Laxey.

Morris's ideas on architecture and design received thorough consideration. He is depicted, not as an empty theorist but a man who lived his theories to the full. His first home, Red House in Bexleyheath was described as, "an emblem of artistic sanctuary, modern in design but traditional in atmosphere, " and his later home, Kelmscott Manor in Oxfordshire , was described by M/s Marsh as, "the embodiment of an ideal built in warm Cotswold stone.

ARCADIAN IDEAL

Morris's political ideas receive scanter attention and his self-description as a 'socialist' is taken at face value. In fact, the world depicted in his *News From Nowhere* is an Arcadian ideal - pastoralist and horticulturalist and completely devoid of industry.

The last member of the trio chosen by M/s Marsh is Edward Carpenter. He was an academic from a middle class background ,who had been a tutor at Cambridge University. He became a member of the Society of Sheffield Socialists, an affiliate of Morris's Socialist League. He used his inheritance to buy some land on which he established a smallholding shared with a local labourer and his wife. Only too brief mention is made of his political writings, published as *England's Ideal* - rather more space being devoted to his eccentric writings on sex.

A stirring chapter on the rearguard action against enclosures of common land covers the campaigns of the Commons Preservation Society founded in 1865 and the National Footpaths Preservation Society founded in 1884. Big landowners had been stealing common land held on tenancies without a written manorial record, since the end of the feudal system. Although a rearguard action, it succeeded in preserving many of the famous London commons that exist (at least in part) to this day. A former Lord Spencer ,who was Lord of the Manor of Wimbledon, was prevented from enclosing the Common and selling Putney Heath as building land. In 1874, the Commons Preservation Society prevented the Rev. Maitland from enclosing Epping Forest. Indeed, pressure from the Society to ensure public access to the Forest led to it being formally opened to the public by Queen Victoria in 1882.

DESPISED AND DISREGARDED

The broad approach of the book is illustrated by the chapter on attempts to revive folk song and dance. In the authoress's words, "folk music had not so much disappeared as been simply despised and disregarded. While the educated classes of Britain had from the Eighteenth Century admired the music of Scotland and Ireland for its picturesque and romantic elements, they regarded the cultural heritage of the English peasant as consisting of a few crude and comic songs." She credits the Rev. John Broadwood and G.A.Dusant with the achievement of starting the collections of Old English songs in the 1840s,as well as to Broadwood's niece, Lucy Broadwood forty years later. The contribution of the clergy seems to have been enormous with collections by the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould , the Rev. H. Fleetwood Shepherd, the Rev. F. W. Bussell and W.A. Barratt, the Vicar-Choral of St. Paul's.

The person most associated in the public's mind with the revival was Cecil Sharp, Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire of Music. Sharp recognised that oral tradition could no longer be relied upon (by the 1860s) to preserve the memory of folk music which was being neglected (in M/s Marsh's words), "in favour of foreign imports." He collected hundreds of tunes - chiefly from Devon and Somerset which would provide the basis of a "national school of music with the musician speaking in "the national musical idiom." This was passed on through the publication of folk songs and through the primary schools - a process that continued until the 1950s. However, it was Vaughan Williams who was primarily responsible for bringing Sharp's vision to fruition with his own compositions; his comic opera, *Hugh the Drover,* is given special mention. Vaughan Williams was not, of course, the only English composer to be influenced by the revival of folk music. Gustav Holst, Percy Grainger and John Ireland were also inspired and influenced from that source.

The heart of the book lies undoubtedly in the three chapters concerned with attempts to create agricultural communes, those who tried to re-establish cottage farmers and the formation of farm colonies. Ruskin had not only established smallholdings; he had also created an agricultural commune at St. George's Farm, Totley, Sheffield for industrial workers wishing to escape from wage slavery. The Chartists in the 1840s had built three hundred cottages in five settlements for supporters who wished to become independent smallholders or 'radical English peasants' .

The proclaimed ideologies of communards

and smallholders were many and varied. Some called themselves 'communists' - though that apparently only signified that they believed in agricultural communes. Others called themselves 'socialists' – although that did not always mean that they believed that property should be held in common! Still more were followers of Tolstoy or Kropotkin.

The cottage farmers and smallholders approximated most closely to the Distributist ideal. The slogan "Three acres and a cow" was used in the campaign to attract the urban proletariat back to the country. A farm settlement was established in Norfolk by Mr. R. K. Goodrich in 1889/1890 and within ten years he had fifty neighbours on two and three acre plots. In 1895, Thomas Smith, a Manchester printer, invested his life savings in eleven acres at Mayland near Althorne. His principle was "individual ownership tempered by voluntary co-operation". He advertised for likeminded settlers to work on small plots to raise vegetables for the London market. Financial help was provided by a wealthy American soap manufacturer, Joseph Fels. Fels was a follower of Henry George and his aim was to "bring the land and the people together". He had studied the rural development policies of Denmark, Belgium and France and planned to provide every industrial worker the opportunity to leave industry and secure a livelihood in agriculture. He saw this as beneficial, not only to those who availed themselves of the opportunity but also to the wage-bargaining position of those who remained in industry. Fels bears a striking resemblance to G.K. Chesterton's Enoch Oates in *Tales of the Long Bow* and it seems obvious that Oates was a sympathetic caricature of Fels.

The farm colony movement was really an extension and adaptation of the workhouse system that had inflicted suffering on the urban poor since the abolition of outdoor relief in 1834. Exactly sixty years afterwards a conference was convened at Holborn Town Hall, under the title 'Land, Co-operation and the Unemployed'. It was intended to reverse the trend that had transformed two million acres of English arable land to permanent pasture in the previous two decades. Furthermore, the number of agricultural workers had fallen dramatically - the displaced labourers finding no work in the cities.

MR. BUMBLE

There were precursors of the Holborn meeting. Two years earlier, the Rev. Herbert Mills established the Home Colonisation Society with the aim of setting up farm colonies in rural areas for volunteer workers among the young and fit unemployed – the first being established on 130 acres at Starnthwaite in the Lake District. However, Mills' uncompromising, authoritarian stance led to revolt among the colonists, who likened him to a rural version of Dickens' Mr Bumble.

None of these movements was to be an outstanding success in the long term because all were incongruous exceptions to a predominantly Capitalist economy. "Everybody knows now," said Joseph Fels many years later, that "back to the land is impossible so long as the fundamental land monopoly continues, because there is no land available for use, except under conditions which make its use unprofitable."

The march of urbanism has continued relentlessly to the present. The number of people employed in agriculture has fallen steadily and the trickle we have seen from urban to rural areas has been principally to dormitory estates and 'Garden Cities'. If the movements have had any tangible effect, it has certainly not manifested itself in any net flow back to the land, still less to agriculture. There has only been the development of a collective nostalgia for a rural society that is remembered by none of us.

19th century line drawing: Back to the Farm.

M/s Marsh concludes that we should concentrate on improving the quality of life in the cities, rather than trying to engineer a return to the country. It is certainly true, as Belloc recognised in his *Restoration of Property*, that most urban dwellers have lost their instinct for rural life - whatever superficial attraction it might hold. Until and unless that instinct is revived, any attempt to drive people, against their will, into agriculture would be fruitless as well as indefensible. That instinct will certainly not revive for as long as the alternatives are urban prosperity and rural poverty. Nor will those who have only recently lost their industrial and commercial employments be prepared to accept a subsistence existence in the country. All the movements referred to in M/s March's book, were in existence at the height of Britain's industrial period, albeit during an industrial recession. While there was still a hope and expectation of an industrial recovery, few would be willing to take the 'opportunity' of returning to Arcadian penury.

The future holds out a completely different prospect for us. We are now entering what has been described as our 'post industrial period'. Technological change will bring about a permanent and continuing fall in the demand for labour in manufacturing industry. It will not be possible, let alone desirable, for the fruits of that technological change to be confined to the minority in employment – otherwise aggregate demand will be insufficient to buy the product of industry. It will be necessary, as well as desirable, for the benefits of the new technology to be extended to those who contribute a relatively small, perhaps only a nominal, amount of time to the industry in question.

THIRD CHOICE

All previous ruralist movements have also been primitivist movements. They implicitly promised, not only arcadian bliss, but also a society in which the material, including cultural and educational, standard of living would plummet to pre-industrial levels. The choice was between a primitive non-industrial rural society and a materially more prosperous, urban and industrial society. Now and only now, there is a third choice. It is possible to envisage an increasing proportion of people having the **opportunity** of leading a rural/agricultural life, while still enjoying the benefits of an industrial economy. Although the new technology will reduce the price of industrial products, there is no reason to think that there will be a proportionate fall in the price of agricultural products - especially in the light of world food shortages. In any event, there is already an autonomous demand for naturally-produced food and craft-produced products. Small-scale farming may produce a smaller product per man-hour but produces a larger product per acre. There has already been a move among the industrial and commercial rich to engage in 'hobbyist' farming. The new technology should enable an increasing proportion of ordinary people to engage in serious albeit small-scale agriculture, horticulture or crafts. It is for government to provide the opportunity, through a land re-distribution programme, for that increasing proportion of the population to work in those areas. However, governments are limited to providing the **opportunity**; they cannot produce the **desire** for that move. Nevertheless, we are confident that when ruralism is divorced from poverty and when the state brings our collective nostalgia within the realm of practicality, there will be many who will wish to avail themselves of the opportunity.

Whether primarily out of economic necessity or autonomous choice, the new technology will provide the catalyst for an unprecedented move, 'Back to the Land'.

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RACE, INTELLIGENCE, GRANDPARENTS AND NONSENSE

STEVE BRADY

THE FACT, established by hundreds of independent studies carried out throughout the world over many years, that human races differ significantly in average measured intelligence is a stake upon which stands firmly impaled the very heart of the vampire of multiracialism which currently drains our Nation's life-blood.

This is because it undermines the multiracialists' mystical conviction that, even though they differ in almost every aspect of the anatomy of the body, everything on our planet, that walks on two legs and lacks feathers, is at least potentially identical or at least "equal" (whatever that means!) in mind. So the history of the multiracialist case down the years has largely been that of increasingly desperate intellectual writhings frantically trying to dislodge this fatal shaft.

UNANIMITY

Faced with virtual unanimity among the professional experts in the field of psychometrics itself, that significant and primarily inherited racial differences exist, a long succession of multiracialist pundits, each seemingly seeking to outdo the last in the weakness of their academic connection with the subject under discussion and the strength of their manifest political connection (via espoused liberalism or Marxism) with the conclusion they seek to draw, have sought to dispel the inconvenient reality by evermore bizarre and casuistic arguments.

The latest example thereof appeared in the *New Scientist* of 5th April last, entitled *"Race, IQ and Grandparents"*. The author was one Professor James R. Flynn, whose headship of the Department of Political Science at a university apparently located in Otago, New Zealand, evidently equips him, in his opinion, to pontificate upon the design of IQ tests and the statistical analysis of their results. So much so, indeed, that he has already ventured, in a work entitled *Race, IQ and Jensen* (published in 1980) to cross swords with Arthur Jensen. Jensen is arguably the world's leading expert on psychometrics, IQ and its measurement, and a Professor not of 'political science' but of Educational Psychology at Harvard, a seat of learning perhaps enjoying a marginally higher academic reputation than its counterpart in Otago, New Zealand. Flynn's book also, *according to Flynn*, presents "the direct evidence of racial equality", though whether it also proceeds to demonstrate on equally direct evidence that Atlantis was founded by prehistoric Martian spacemen, the good Professor does not inform us!

INTELLECTUAL EXCUSION

On this latest intellectual excursion, unhampered by the confining bounds of his own field of expertise, the Otagen Professor claims to have discovered that the average IQ of White Americans, as measured by IQ tests, has increased by about 14% since the 1930s. More precisely, he claims that a sample averaging an IQ of 100 on a modern IQ test will average 115 if they are tested using a test produced in the 1930s, which is not quite the same thing.

These claims arise from the process known as "standardization", whereby a new IQ test is carried out on a (hopefully!) representative sample of the public and its results used to provide norms for scoring the test in future so an individual of "average" intelligence will score 100, and, for example, only the top 16% of performers will get IQ scores of 115 and above. The idea is to ensure that the results of different IQ tests can be meaningfully compared and someone will be measured as having about the same IQ whichever test he takes.

By looking up the results of such standardization samples, and studies in which the same sample of people were tested using two tests of differing age (73 studies in all), and statistically analysing the results (or claiming to do so - mathematical analysis would not seem a likely forte for a 'political scientist') Flynn claims that "without exception, the subjects tend to score higher on whatever test was standardised first" and that "every standardisation sample for Stanford-Binet and Wechsler tests" (the two most widely used such IQ tests) "from 1932 to 1978 has performed better on IQ tests than its predecessors". He claims a "constant gain of 0.3 IQ points per year or a total gain of 13.8 points over 46 years".

MUTUALLY CONTRADICTORY

Professor Flynn evidently feels that these statistics provide him with a weapon with which to bash the nasty racists and their worrying IQ tests, which keep giving results he doesn't like - if he can but find the right way to use it! Laying about him with a will the Antipodean academic proceeds to use his figures to argue two mutually contradictory conclusions.

Firstly, he claims the increase in average test IQ reflects a real increase in average intelligence amongst White Americans. Therefore, he argues, "statements that this group or that group (usually Blacks) cannot maintain or develop a modern industrial civilization are suspect. American Whites *circa* 1930 had a mean IQ of 85 scored against modern norms and they developed today's industrial civilization". Then the 'political scientist' from Otago, South Island, New Zealand, moves in for the kill on the hated Harvard psychologist. Arch-fiend of the anti-racist pantheon: "these massive IQ gains raise doubts about Arthur Jensen's hypothesis that the 15 point IQ gap between Black and White Americans stems more from genetic than environmental causes". Leaving aside firstly the dismissal of the general opinion of **all** experts in the relevant field (which, incidentally is not 'political science'!) as "Arthur Jensen's hypothesis" and secondly the fact that, as he himself says, the studies Flynn has analysed all relate to the IQ of **White** Americans and thus say nothing about the IQ gap between White and Black Americans from which doubts could be raised, this point is a nonsense. It is a nonsense because "Arthur Jensen's hypothesis" that differences in intelligence are about 80% due to differences in genetic endowment, and hence about 20% due to environmental factors, is perfectly capable of accommodating a genuine increase of 14% in average White American intelligence which was entirely due to (say) improvements in education. Similarly, the fact that differences in height are about 80% hereditary in origin (which is not queried or dismissed as one man's "hypothesis" because, it seems, that height is less controversial than brain power) is in no way contradicted by a similar percentage rise in the average height of British schoolchildren at any given age over the last century or so. This rise is almost certainly due to the environmental factor of improved diet and medical care. Supporters of the "environmentalist" hypothesis find great difficulty in explaining how, even if average Black and White IQ's have risen, the difference in their average IQ's has remained exactly the same, at 15 points, since 1918 when serious testing began (a point Flynn concedes). As Flynn himself asserts (in support of a markedly specious point) Blacks today are relatively better off (considerably so) compared to Whites than they were in 1918. Why has this reduction in the environmental gap between the races not produced a corresponding - or indeed any - reduction in the average IQ gap? Could it be - horrors, Professor Flynn! - because that gap is not primarily due to environmental factors at all?

ANTI–RACIST MILEAGE

Anxious to extract every drop of anti-racist mileage from the "great IQ rise", Flynn goes so far as to extrapolate his 0.3 IQ points a year increase back to 1918, so he can argue that if the average IQ of Black U.S. Army recruits in 1967 was 15 points behind that of White 1967 recruits, the Blacks can at least claim equality with White Army recruits in 1918. As 1967 Blacks do not happen to live in 1918 America, they may find this revelation of racial equality of less than immediate comfort. And if one is going to follow Professor Flynn and extrapolate his alleged 0.3 IQ points rise a year phenomenon, into the past, one is faced with the conclusion - which must surely be of interest to the historian - that at the time of their 1776 Declaration of Independence the average IQ of White Americans was approximately zero!

In a hostel for those unable to cope with our society. As intelligent as your grandparents?

Having squeezed every possible swipe at the dreaded racists from the idea that his conclusions demonstrate a real increase in the average intelligence of White Americans over the last decades, Professor Flynn then proceeds to see what he can get out of the exact opposite conclusion. He concludes no such intelligence increase can have occurred (despite his expending the preceding page arguing that it did and "proves the racists wrong") and so the IQ tests pointing that way must be worthless. As he puts it: "A 13.8 point IQ gain from 1932 to 1978 means that only the top 18% of White Americans in the 1930s overlap with the top 50% of White Americans today. I suspect that everyone finds such a notion intuitively absurd. Major premise: any thing that tells us our parents were radically less intelligent than ourselves cannot be measuring what we call intelligence. Minor premise: IQ tests tell us our parents were radically less intelligent than ourselves. Conclusion: therefore, IQ tests cannot be measuring what we normally call intelligence".

DIAMETRICALLY CONTRADICTS

Leaving aside the fact that this diametrically contradicts what Flynn has just been saying, and makes a nonsense of his point made in the preceding paragraph of his article that if 1930s Whites, with a mean IQ of 85, can run a modern civilization then modern Blacks with the same mean IQ can too (he is now saying 1930s Whites were not less intelligent than modern Whites, though in any case all he was arguing was that people of surprising average stupidity could run complicated societies - hardly very flattering to the Negro in the street!) this is a real " old chestnut".

Faced with a 15 point difference in average IQ between Black and White, multiracialists with boring predictability try first to argue that the difference isn't real, then, losing that argument, they say that it may be real but it doesn't matter because IQ tests don't really measure intelligence anyway! This argument fails intuitively because it is an observable fact that people who score highly on IQ tests are also generally regarded as showing high intelligence, and indeed perform well academically, whereas low scorers generally are visibly stupid and poor academic achievers. And it fails logically because studies of the comparative mean IQs of Black and White, especially in America, were originally performed to help investigate why Blacks performed so poorly intellectually compared to Whites. IQ tests reflect, they do not cause, poor relative Black performance compared to Whites. If the reason for poor Black performance is not lower average intelligence and ability, it is necessary to suppose either that they are deliberately 'playing dumb' or that they are the victims of a Vast Racist Conspiracy beside which the machinations of the Learned Elders of Zion fade into insignificance. This indeed is the multiracialist position, despite its manifest absurdity in a society in which the only discrimination a Black is likely to meet is official and in his favour and in which it is a criminal offence even to say nasty things, however true, about him. And it is a position which fails to explain the relative high achievement of Asians, who are no whiter than Blacks, nor more beloved of 'racists', but who do differ less in average IQ from the White norm.

Nonetheless, in his succeeding ramblings about the effect of education on performance in IQ tests, Professor Flynn makes - quite unintentionally I am sure - a valid point. For it is certainly true that an IQ test should measure intelligence, not general or mathematical knowledge. And it is also true that earlier IQ tests were worse in this regard than more modern ones. As Flynn himself says, the producers of IQ tests "revise them periodically". They do this to make them better, more "culture-free", and more accurate at filtering out latent intellectual ability, "pure intelligence", as opposed to learned knowledge. A brief glance at early tests, such as those of the 1930s, shows them to have been loaded with explicit or implicit calls upon the factual knowledge, rather than native reasoning ability, of the candidate, which are much less present in modern tests. And it would seem reasonable to suppose that, in this era of television and mass communications, modern Americans generally do have a higher level of general knowledge than their grandparents. **And thus, in a test which measured knowledge as well as intelligence, such as the early 'IQ tests' , they would on average perform better than their grandparents. That is not because they were more intelligent, but because they knew more.**

So all Professor Flynn's statistics may prove is that IQ tests have improved as measurers of pure IQ since the 1930s. This is only to be expected. Great effort has gone and is going in to making these tests fairer and more accurate. In a period when we have gone from designing canvas-and-wire biplanes to Concorde and the Space Shuttle ,from flying the Atlantic to landing men on the Moon and machines on Mars, it is surely to be expected that psychometricians should have been able to produce at least some improvement in how we measure human intelligence. All Flynn has done is to show that obsolete IQ tests produce inaccurate results. He may well be right. But he has scarcely "demolished the racist case", or even dented what he calls "Arthur Jensen's hypothesis" that intelligence differences are primarily inherited.

DESPERATE

That, clearly, was his only aim. So desperate was Professor Flynn to "prove multiracialism right" that he was reduced to arguing two mutually contradictory interpretations of his evidence simultaneously in the hope, presumably, that someone would believe one of them! Indeed, it seems likely that, like other typical racial egalitarians, Professor Flynn is committed to his Negrophiliac convictions with a blind, almost religious fervour wholly independently of the evidence or, indeed , of basic logic. That is hardly a scientific attitude, but then 'political science' is hardly a very scientific discipline, and one would scarce expect to find the leading luminati of even this dubious field of human knowledge lurking at an obscure Antipodean college. One can only wonder at such an unscientific and illogical piece of nonsense, from a non-scientist, finding its way into the columns of the *New Scientist*. But then, having regard to political complexion of its editorship ,and its place in the plutocratic publishing empire of a pro-Labour Party Czechoslovakian Jew, perhaps one should not wonder at all.

Perhaps next we can expect to hear a similarly and coherently argued critique of the nasty racist Professor Jensen, horrible fascist IQs, and genes involved in international neo-Nazi gun-running conspiracies from an Outer Mongolian philatelist rather than a New Zealand political scientist. It is all rather pathetic, really. Or perhaps it would be too much to ask Professor Flynn, the editors of *New Scientist*, and all other believers in the outdated superstition of "human equality" to grow up and face the facts, whether or not they like them?

RECOMMENDED READING

THE TESTING OF NEGRO INTELLIGENCE
Prof. Audrey M. Shuey. Hb. 578pp. £7.00 (£1.67)

A detailed study of the results of 50 years testing the differences in Black and White intelligence levels.

Available from: Nationalist Books, 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon, Surrey CRO 2QF.

N.E.G

NATIONALIST EDUCATION GROUP

THE Nationalist Education Group was set up at the start of this year with the specific purpose of assisting the continued ideological development of the National Front. It represented just one of the many changes which were implemented in the early part of 1984 as a direct result of the administrative changes carried out by the Party's National Directorate.

The N.E.G. was set up as a sub-unit of the NF's Education and Training Department and since then monthly meetings have been held and monthly bulletins sent out to all N.E.G. members.

Membership of the Nationalist Education Group requires a high level of commitment, and that includes financial commitment. Each member of the N.E.G. pays £5 per month in dues. This money is then placed in a special bank account to be used for the purpose of publishing new books.

Each monthly meeting of the N.E.G. discusses what new books should be stocked by the Nationalist Bookshop in Croydon and what books, currently out of print, need to be republished with the help of N.E.G. funds. Minutes of each meeting are taken by N.E.G. secretary, John Field, and are mailed out to all members of the group who don't live in London and are consequently unable to attend monthly meetings. As well as the monthly minutes, each member receives a monthly statement of N.E.G. accounts prepared by N.E.G. treasurer, Tom Acton.

However, the Nationalist Education Group isn't just a discussion group concerned with the ordering and publishing of books. It is also very much concerned with alternative types of activities.

Already, a very successful N.E.G. week-end camp has been held in the countryside and it is hoped that more are to be held in the future. Also, a special N.E.G. activities unit has been established which will go along to heckle meetings with intelligent questions.

The first activity organised by the N.E.G. activities unit involved the close questioning of Peter Thornton, a leading member of the National Council for Civil Liberties, about the reasons for the NCCL's boycott of the National Front. Mr Thornton didn't like being put on the hot-spot and he found it difficult to explain away his organisation's political bias when it is supposed to be 'non-political'.

Similar activities to this are planned by the N.E.G. in the coming months and they are designed to complement the other good work done by the group in the publishing of new books.

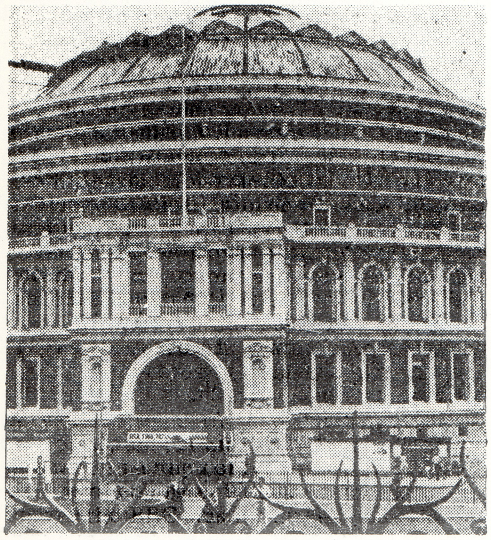
If you would like to play your part in the building of the Nationalist Education Group, please fill in the form below and post it to the N.E.G. straight away. With your help the Nationalist Education Group will be able to get rare and out of print books back into print, books which our enemies may have thought were dead and buried. Furthermore, we will be able to publish new books which will be able to propagate the new creed of Racial Nationalism to more and more people.

The Nationalist Education Group can only succeed if it receives *your* support. Please give the N.E.G. your support by joining it now!

Send your first £5 to:— N.E.G., 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon, Surrey CRO 2QF, to be registered as a member of the N.E.G.

Giants of British National Music

SIR HENRY WOOD



ON SATURDAY the 10th of May1944, Malcolm Sargent conducted a performance of Elgar's 'Dream of Gerontius' at the Queens Hall. The following morning, after one of the worst air raids on London, when over three hundred bombers dropped great numbers of high explosives and incendiaries destroyed many famous buildings, only the outer shell remained of London's finest concert hall. The interior was completely gutted, but strangely, the bronze bust of Sir Henry Wood remained undamaged in its niche.

Every year at the beginning of the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts this bust is brought to the Royal Albert Hall from the Royal Academy of Music, where, during the festivities of the last night, it is ceremoniously crowned with a laurel wreath. No British conductor has inspired such affection and been as highly esteemed as Sir Henry Wood, often called " the father of British orchestral music".

MUSICAL DIRECTOR

In 1893, Robert Newman, manager of the newly built Queens Hall in Langham Place, invited Henry Joseph Wood to become conductor of the permanent Queens Hall Orchestra and musical director of the Promenade Concerts which he planned. The first season of concerts opened on the 10th of August 1895 under the direction of this relatively unknown young man of twenty six. whose only experience as a conductor had been gained in the West End theatres and with touring opera companies. The Promenade Concerts or Proms, as they came to be called, proved to be Henry Wood's greatest achievement and they became a central feature of British musical life. Henry Wood remained in sole charge until 1940 when he was joined by Basil Cameron and later, Adrian Boult, as associate conductors.

Before 1985 orchestral concerts had been rare and expensive; the Proms, advertised as "popular concerts for the people" , provided ten to eleven weeks of concerts for one guinea - the price of a season ticket, and for the first time made available to many a musical experience which has continued to have considerable attraction, as can be seen from the long queues outside the Albert Hall each year in July and August.

In 1898 Henry Wood and the Queens Hall Orchestra gave a Royal Command concert at Windsor Castle; the programme was chosen by Queen Victoria herself and contained several items by Wagner who was one of the most popular composers at that time. Monday became established as Wagner night at the Proms; other nights were associated with certain composers, perhaps the most notable being Friday which was Beethoven night. Saturday's programme, however, remained a mixed popular one.

CONCERTS

Henry Wood built up a fine orchestra by training British players to achieve a high standard of performance; he consistently encouraged promising young soloists , preferring to engage them rather than celebrities for the concerts. Wood was a striking figure with his dark curly hair and beard and white carnation in his buttonhole. He retained his Bohemian appearance, even when grey and thickset. Although no virtuoso conductor, his characteristic was his long white baton cutting swathes through the air.

Wood introduced the music of his eminent European contemporaries - Debussy, Bartok, Scriabin, Mahler, Strauss and Sibelius and was always ready to present 'novelties' to audiences who were probably more receptive than are audiences of today. In 1912 he performed Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces.* "Stick to it gentlemen. This is nothing to what you'll have to play in twenty five years time" , he urged the orchestra at rehearsal time.

Henry Wood specialised in orchestral arrangements and one of his most renowned is the *Fantasia on British Sea Songs* which had its first performance on the 21st of October 1905 - one hundred years after the Victory of Trafalgar. Wood played the *Fantasia* on the final night of more than forty Prom seasons and it has persisted ever since, an indispensable feature of the last night, no longer the expression of a great naval power, but merely the means whereby the young Promenaders express their exuberance.

The Promenade Concerts were by no means Henry Wood's only work; during the rest of the year he undertook concert engagements, directed choral festivals and amateur orchestras, often travelling through the night, ignoring comfort and financial advantage. During a successful concert tour in America, he was the first British conductor to direct the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and turned down tempting offers from the USA, remaining loyal to Newman.

BRITISH COMPOSERS

In the early Proms, British music was poorly represented, but by the beginning of the twentieth century Wood was becoming a whole-hearted champion of British composers and the encouragement and support he gave to them altered the course of British musical history. In the 1903 season, Elgar's *Enigma Variations* were played, and over the years, he presented many works by British composers.

In 1921 Henry Wood was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Philharmonic Society for his outstanding services to music. By 1925 the Proms were a national institution and Wood, at the age of 55, was knighted. In 1927, for financial reasons, the Proms were taken over by the BBC and the Queens Hall Orchestra became the BBC Symphony Orchestra, but in general the form and character of the concerts remained. The great benefit of the take-over was that broadcasts of the concerts brought a vast range of music to millions who might never have discovered it.

During the 1927 season there was a special concert of Elgar's music to celebrate his seventieth birthday and there were also programmes for Empire Day and Dominion Day. In 1929 the Thursday concert of each week was devoted to British composers and William Walton conducted the first performance of his viola concerto with Hindemith as soloist. Among the eight British composer concerts in 1931, several were devoted to a single composer - Delius, Elgar and Vaughan Williams. 1934 was a tragic year for British music with the deaths of Delius, Elgar and Holst. 1938 was the year of Sir Henry's Golden Jubilee as a professional conductor and it was celebrated by a special concert at the Royal Albert Hall with famous orchestras , choirs and distinguished soloists taking part. Vaughan Williams wrote *Serenade to Music* for the occasion. 1938 was also a very successful year for the Proms, with new records set for attendances.

The 1939 season began on August the 12th but on Friday the 1st of September Sir Henry Wood had to announce that the concerts were closing down until further notice. Wood, whose relationship with the BBC was never very happy, was angry and resentful, remembering that he had carried on throughout the 1914 - 1918 war despite danger from air raids. After much argument the 46th season opened on the 10th of August 1940 with large, enthusiastic audiences. Unfortunately the time coincided with the end of the 'phoney' war and the raids on London were about to commence. The raids intensified and the final concert was on the 7th of September - sadly the last Prom at the Queens Hall.

GREATEST TEACHER

The short six week season at the Albert Hall in 1941 was shared with Basil Cameron, but in 1942 there was a serious deterioration in his health. Fortunately he was able to open the following season which was an extremely successful one. On the 3rd of March Sir Henry Wood was seventy five and on August the 10th the Proms would be fifty years old. To celebrate these events a national Jubilee Fund was launched to 'mark an epoch in English music and to provide a new concert hall in Central London. Arthur Bliss wrote a fanfare in his honour and George VIth sent a telegram of congratulation to 'the Nation's greatest teacher of music' .

On the 10th of June the Golden Jubilee season of Promenade Concerts began, but like 1939 and 1940, it was ill-fated. The risk of a flying bomb on the packed hall caused the authorities to bring the concerts to an end after less than three weeks, but the season continued in Bedford. Sir Henry Wood suffered a collapse and died on the 19th of August 1944.

During the ninetieth season of the Proms, tribute was again paid to this great musician who, through his utter commitment and enthusiasm, achieved mutual understanding between conductor, orchestra and audience ,and whose career was one of the most complete and fulfilled in the history of music.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE WASTE LAND TODAY

MARGARET BALLARD

T.S. Eliot. c. 1958.

***The Waste Land* was published in 1922 and although T.S. Eliot claimed that the poem was a private grumble against life, it soon came to be praised as a mirror of post war society, accurately reflecting a broken, decaying civilization. Eliot was not the only poet who saw the quality of nightmare in his own time, one of the most notable examples being *The Second Coming* by Yeats, with its apocalyptic view of the break up of Western Civilization and the end of the Christian era. *The Waste Land* was however, an attempt, stated with particular clarity, to diagnose the disorder.**

The essence of the poem is that Life, which had been rich, beautiful and assured, has become barren, sterile and disrupted. The emphasis on disintegration and despair, with an ever present sense of the futility of human effort. The title, plan and much of the symbolism was suggested by Jessie Weston's remarkable book on the Grail Legend - *From Ritual to Romance.* According to the legend, a king is rendered impotent and his country sterile, both awaiting deliverance by a knight on his way to seek the Grail.

EZRA POUND

The Waste Land, dedicated to Ezra Pound, is a poem of 433 lines and five sections entitled *The Burial of the Dead* (the last service in the Book of Common Prayer), *A Game of Chess, The Fire Sermon, Death by Water* and *What the Thunder Said.* Like Pound's Cantos it is fragmentary in form, the fragmentation being a deliberate device employed to portray the disordered world. The poem is packed with literary allusions and quotations from at least thirty five different writers, including Dante and Shakespeare. There are excerpts from Wagner, snatches of popular songs and passages in six foreign languages, including Sanskrit.

The Waste Land is a poem built around contrasts between past and present cultures and differing styles, containing passages that are narrative, dramatic, descriptive, lyrical and hallucinatory. Situations and personalities are blended and superimposed across the boundaried of time and place. Early in the poem Madame Sosostris, a 'famous clairvoyant' - in reality a vulgar fortune teller, reveals through the mystic Tarot cards many of the mysterious figures who appear. The identity of the speaker is always changing; he often seems to be a mere medium ,a voice for others.

The familiar opening lines of the poem -
"April is the cruellest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire ...."
and the snatches of futile, society conversation that follow, imply the fear of living in reality or the difficulty in rousing oneself from the death in life in which most people of the Waste Land live.

The speaker moves to London and the dreary uniformity of the great modern city.
"Unreal City
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many.

Faced with the experience of London commuters and his sense that their life is a living death, Eliot feels an immediate contact with Dante's *Inferno.* We are made aware of numerous people carrying out meaningless, soul destroying office routines, the results of which profit others.

BORED

The speaker becomes the anonymous presenter of two marriages in which love is conspicuously absent. A rich woman, a prisoner in her luxurious surroundings, is bored and jaded; life has no meaning for her. A barmaid sneers at her friend Lil's clumsy and inexpert attempts at abortion. In a scene on the Thames, a line from Spencer's Prothalamion: *"Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song"* reminds us that in the Elizabethan age the river was the scene of splendid ceremonial occasions. We are brought swiftly back to the present with reference to the squalid *"empty bottles, sandwich papers, cigarette ends or other testimony of summer nights."* One of the best known passages of the poem describes another melancholy sexual encounter - the seduction of the bored typist by the *"young man carbuncular - a small house agents clerk",* watched by Tiresius, the sage of Greek legend, and who, according to Eliot's notes on *The Waste Land,* is the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest.

The words of St. Augustine - 'To Carthage then I came - burning, burning', evoke a prophetic vision of a breakdown in life - a waste land in which 'nothing connects with nothing'. The sterile destructiveness of the passions can only be overcome by asceticism.

With the lines - *"Who are those hordes swarming*
Over endless plains stumbling in cracked earth"
Eliot is alluding to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and comparable upheavals in Eastern Europe in the immediate post-war years. With the expansion of the Soviet Empire after the Yalta agreement, the plight of Eastern Europe is infinitely worse.

A beautiful lyric passage refers to the fishermen of Billingsgate. -
"O City city, I can sometimes hear
Beside a public bar in Lower Thames Street
The pleasant whining of a mandoline
And a clatter and a chatter from within
Where fishmen lounge at noon ......"

The fishmen continue to give allegiance to the source of life, so life still has meaning here as it cannot have for the commuters, the typist or the rich woman. Sadly, Billingsgate Market has disappeared, handed over to the property developer, as has much of old London.

Towards the end of the poem the question *"Shall I at least set my lands in order?"* , hints at a possible means of salvation, but for the present generation, more than sixty years later, salvation seems very far away. *The Waste Land* expresses a deep dissatisfaction with many aspects of life, a lack of purpose and direction, and the inability to believe in anything. Materialism has become the new religion; the deliberate transformation of the inner cities into multi-racial hells; the so-called permissive society, with abortion on demand, easy divorce, the multi-million pound pornography and drugs industries, the mockery of the Obscene Publications Act and the increase in violence and sex crimes have created a spiritual and cultural waste land.

A virtual waste land is being created by big business farming, the use of poisonous chemicals and the cutting down of woodlands and hedges which have stood for centuries; more and more of the countryside is fast disappearing to make way for unnecessary motorways.

Although the late F.R. Leavis wrote about T.S. Eliot's poem many years ago, his comments have a particular relevance today. "In considering our present plight we have also to take account of the incessant rapid change that characterises the Machine Age. The result is a breach of continuity and the uprooting of life. What we are witnessing today is the final uprooting of the immemorial ways of life, rooted in the soil."

Sterile and cosmopolitan — contemporary architecture symbolises the wasteland.

HILAIRE BELLOC

Andrew Brons reviews A. N. Wilson's Biography

BELLOC, in literary and political terms, is one of the 'disappeared ones'. A.N. Wilson quotes Desmond MacCarthy, a friend of Belloc's and one-time Literary Editor of the *New Statesman,* who said that in the 1950s Belloc's works occupied several shelves in libraries. However, Wilson testified to the fact that, "they have now taken Belloc off the shelves and sold him to the second-hand bookshops.'

Those who have looked for books by Belloc in their local libraries must have arrived at the same conclusion. In fact, you could almost be forgiven for believing that Belloc was a casual visitor to this planet who stayed only long enough to scribble those few rhymes included by Penguin in *Selected Cautionary Verses.* Until recently that was almost the only one of Belloc's publications in print for 30 years. It has now been joined by *The Cruise of the Nona* - which may disappoint yachting enthusiasts for its lack of references to his sea voyages and its inclusion of his opinions on almost everything else! It's a fascinating book nevertheless.

EERIE ACCURACY

Wilson attributes Belloc's disappearance from the shelves partly to his "strong dislike of the Jews" . As Wilson explained, "We forgive Yeats his silly adulation of frauds like Aleister Crowley and we forgive Shaw his unimaginatively bloodthirsty adulation of the Stalinist terror. But we cannot forgive Ezra Pound for snarling about the Jews. And we can forgive Belloc even less, for in his book on the subject, published in 1922, he prophesied what would happen to European Jewry, with such eery accuracy, as a direct consequence of liberal 'double thinking' on the subject".

In view of the disappearance of so many of Belloc's works 'down the memory hole' , we must be grateful to Mr. Wilson for providing a glimpse of Belloc's ideas - some of which have not appeared in print for half a century. However, I felt that his detailed proposals for achieving a Distributist system were not given sufficient attention. *The Servile State* is referred to but no mention is made of the far more practical and prescriptive, *Essay on the Restoration of Property* - an omission that is understandable in view of the virtual impossibility of obtaining a copy!

Belloc was a child of his time. He was born near Paris, in the summer of 1870 - two days before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War - and a year before the invasion by the Prussians and the looting of the Belloc family home. His knowledge of that humiliation instilled in him a life-long hatred of Prussia, a hatred that led him to some absurd conclusions. There is a tendency in all people to place all of their enemies in the same cateogory. Belloc was no exception. He saw Hitler as the embodiment of Prussia and both as controlled by the Jews. In a letter to Duff Cooper in 1939 (not referred to in Wilson's book), he described Hitler as 'a figurehead' and Rosenberg as 'the clever Yid' who was his 'manager' . One does not need to be a Nazi, a Prussian or a Jew to accuse him of suspect reasoning!

He was not a Nationalist in our sense of the word, although he was clearly a patriot - possibly a French patriot as well as a British one! Nevertheless, he did recognise the enemies of the Nation - Capitalists, Marxists, Zionists, careerist politicians - as enemies but he would have **rationalised** his antipathies by denouncing them as enemies of the 'Faith' . I use the word 'rationalise' deliberately because he explained his ideas in secular as much as religious terms. His Distributism was justified on the grounds of personal and constitutional freedom, apart from its advocacy in Papal Encyclicals. Even his Catholicism - although sincerely held - seemed to be revered because he saw it as the embodiment of Europe. He was not inhibited certainly about referring to the Old Testament as 'Yid Folklore' and even allegedly, described Christ as a 'milksop' whom he followed only because the Church told him to.

'DISTINCT NATION'

In his 'admirable Yid book' (as Belloc described *The Jews*), his recognition of them as a distinct nation - in the face of liberal notions of 'citizenship' - was based on unambiguous racial nationalist principles. However, his ideas on the Jews tended to be rationalised by reference to his Catholicism - as in the following lines quoted by Wilson:-

At the end of Piccadilly is a place
Of habitation for the Jewish race.
Awaiting their regained Jerusalem.
These little huts, they say, suffice for them.
Here Rothschild lives, chief of the tribe abhorr'd.
Who tried to put to death Our Blessed Lord.
But, on the third day, as the Gospel shows,
Cheating their machinations, He arose:
In Whose commemoration, now and then,
We persecute these curly-headed men.

Wilson restricted himself to the enigmatic remark:- "Either you find this funny or you don't". Whether or not Wilson finds it funny must remain a mystery but he did take the trouble to include it!

Belloc may not have been consciously a racial nationalist but among the contributors to *The Weekly Review,* which he edited, was Arthur Kenneth (A.K.) Chesterton, cousin of G.K. Chesterton and founder of the National Front.

LIBERAL M.P.

Wilson provides an entertaining and informative account of Belloc's life and career: of his walk across America (from New York to California!) to propose to Elodie Hogan, who became his wife; of his unsuccessful attempt to gain a Fellowship at Balliol; of his short Parliamentary career as the Liberal(Yes Liberal!) M.P. for Salford; of the death of Elodie and his eldest son Louis;of the Marconi scandal; of his admiration of Mussolini; and of his retirement to his beloved King's Land. It has been said that this biography is superfluous, in view of the fact that a more comprehensive account had been written by Speaight twenty-seven years earlier, as well as a shorter though more personal one by his daughter and son-in-law, Eleanor and Reg Jebb. Nevertheless, I did not find Wilson too repetitive of Speaight and I felt that it adopted a more understanding (if not completely sympathetic) approach to Belloc's ideas. His relatively serious treatment of Belloc's ideas on the Jews produced the inevitable reaction from reviewers. I suppose Mr. Wilson will eventually learn that there are **some** ideas that simply cannot be considered on their merits and foremost amongst such ideas are any relating to the Jews that fail to defer to their own contradictory descriptions of themselves. On the other hand, Mr. Wilson does go some way towards redeeming himself by producing, as if from nowhere, a hitherto unrevealed Bellocian ancestor from the 17th Century, Moses Bloch, a Nantes wine merchant! Nor does he allow mere absence of supporting evidence to inhibit him from speculating that Belloc might have been called 'Le Juif' and not 'L'Anglais' during his French military training!

Wilson describes *The Mercy of Allah* as Belloc's "most sustained and amusing money fantasy" . That may account for the fact that it has been republished since Belloc's death but it is more probable that its reappearance can be attributed to its being misunderstood to be anti-Arab! It is a brilliant, readable and easily understood explanation of the swindles perpetrated by financiers.

PEABODY YID

He seems to be less impressed by Belloc's series of novels about the links between financiers (notably Jewish financiers), economic imperialism and high politics:- from *Emmanuel Burden, Mr. Petre* and *Pongo and the Bull ......* They trace the career of Mr. Barnett (known to his acquaintances as 'the Peabody Yid')who was ennobled to become Lord Lambeth, eventually being created the first Duke of Battersea. Wilson concedes, rather refreshingly, that Barnett, "is a recognisable type perhaps cruder than his Rothschild or Oppenheimer Edwardian originals, infinitely less so than his modern equivalents like 'Lord' Kagan or Sir James Goldsmith."

The novel he fails to mention is the political, but less polemical, *But Soft:- We Are Observed.* It was written in 1928 but set in the then distant future - 1979. International rivalry breaks out over the control of mineral reserves in 'West Irania' - a prescient book if ever there was one!

There are sometimes attempts to distil the 'essence' of a writer's ideas with inclusion of the 'relevant' and exclusion of the 'irrelevant'. We are then presented with the 'true' Shakespeare or the 'true' Dickens. Wilson makes no attempt to present the 'true' Belloc. He presents him with all his contradictions, changes of mind and anomalies and consequently presents a more convincing picture.

RACIAL NATIONALISM

Our task is quite different from Wilson's. **As a movement,** we are only interested in those ideas which form part of, or complement, the ideology of Racial Nationalism. That ideology **does** form a coherent whole even if the totality of Belloc's do not.

Belloc was a Distributist and we too favour widespread ownership of land and industrial and commercial property. He was an opponent of Capitalism and Marxism and recognised the substantial Jewish element in each. However, he would have seen himself as being, first and foremost, a Catholic and a very political Catholic too, whilst we are a secular movement whose members are affiliates of all denominations and none. Individual members may applaud or decry his religious convictions and affiliation but the movement must remain disinterested, if not

GREAT BRITISH RACIALISTS

No. 14 HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN 1842 – 1921

MARXISM and Racial Nationalism are incompatible - of that, there can be little doubt. Marxism - at least in all its orthodox varieties - declares that changing economic relations provide the momentum for a changing society and even produce a change in the nature of Man. It is uncompromisingly internationalist and predicts and prescribes the elimination of nations and races. Racial Nationalism recognises that the natures of individuals and races are inherited and that we can choose our social structure to suit our nature and preferences. Needless to say, we prescribe the preservation of nations and races - particularly our own.

How then could H.M. Hyndman, founder of the Social Democratic Federation in 1884 (formerly the Democratic Federation) and co-founder of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900 (which in 1906 became the Labour Party), be a self-described Marxist and a 'Great British Racialist'? The answer must surely be that, in spite of his self-description, he was a far better Racial Nationalist than he was a Marxist. We must not make the mistake of thinking that people are always the most reliable authority on the nature of their own ideology!

Like Cobbett before him, he was first a Tory Radical and during that time strove for a closer relationship between Britain and the White Dominions. It is said that in his early life he worked in 'the City' and that that experience converted him to Marxism.

He did not allow his nominal Marxism to blind him to Marx's motives or character. In his *Reminiscences* he describes a meeting with Marx and the anarchist Hartmann. He said that it was evident that these two Jews both desired the downfall of the country that had so foolishly offered them hospitality. Marx was no more enamoured of Hyndman whom he accused of plagiarising his works without acknowledgement. In *Reminiscences* he wrote: "His attacks of the most vindictive character, were followed up by Engels with even more vitriolic fervour for years." It was the opinion of Adolphe Smith, one of Hyndman's colleagues in the SDF that Engels, Marx's daughter Eleanor and Eleanor's common law husband Dr. Aveling, planned to use the Independent Labour Party to obliterate the SDF and the Fabian Society for failing to show sufficient subservience to 'German' leadership (*The Pan-German Internationale*). Nor did he allow his nominal Marxism to blind him to the dominant role of the Jews, both in Capitalism and the 'revolutionary' movements. In an article, *The Dawn of a Revolutionary Epoch*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, he wrote:

"The influence of the Jews at the present time is more noticeable than ever. They are at the head of European capitalists. In politics many Jews are in the front rank. The press in more than one European capital is almost wholly in their hands. The Rothschilds are but the leading name among a whole series of capitalists. But whilst on the one hand the Jews are thus beyond dispute the leaders of the plutocracy of Europe. . . . another section of the same race form the leaders of that revolutionary propaganda which is making war against that very capitalistic class represented by their own fellow Jews. Jews - more than any other men - have held forth against those who make their living not by producing value, but by trading on the differences of value; they at this moment are acting as the leaders in the revolutionary movement which I have endeavoured to trace. Surely we have here a very strange phenomenon. Those ,therefore, who are accustomed to look upon all Jews as essentially practical and conservative, as certain, too, to enlist on the side of the prevailing social system, will be obliged to reconsider their conclusions. But the whole subject of the bad and good effects of Jewish influence on European social conditions is worthy of a more thorough investigation than can be undertaken here. Enough that in the period we are approaching not the slightest influence on the side of the revolution will be that of the Jews."

That was written in 1881 shortly before the founding of the Democratic Federation, which was to become the Social Democratic Federation in 1884. Why then, did he remain a Marxist? It seems conclusive that his "more thorough investigation", led him to adopt some very un-Marxist positions in later life.

CONDEMNED

Like Chesterton and Belloc (and an early uncorrupted Lloyd George) he condemned the corrupt purposes behind the Boer war. He and they clearly recognised that the annexation of the Boer Republics was for the benefit of the 'Uitlanders' in Johannesburg - principally Jewish financiers. Hyndman referred to it as "the Jews' War" and "an abominable war on behalf of German-Jew mineowners and other international interlopers." Similarly, he and they had condemned the Jameson raid in 1895, which provoked the Boers and paved the way for the 1899-1902 South African War.

Hyndman's critical views of the Jews did not pass unnoticed by his Jewish colleagues who tabled motions of censure at the 1900 conference of the SDF. He in turn criticised the election of Theodore Rothstein to the SDF executive. He regarded both Rothstein and Zelda Kahan, both Jews of Russian origin, as German Government agents. This was remarkably prescient as Rothstein was later to emerge as an employee of the German Foreign Office. The connections between the German Government and revolutionary movements abroad were to become better known after the episode of the sealed train containing Lenin in 1917.

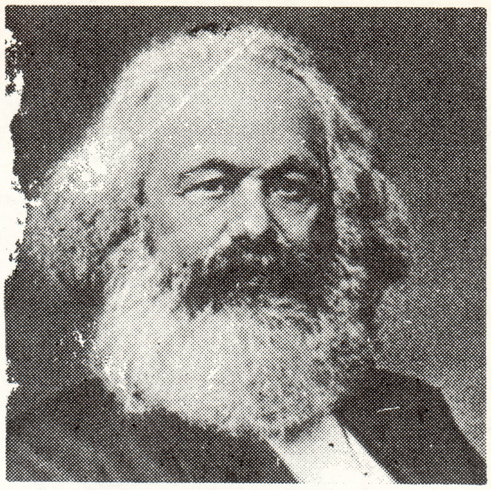
H.M. Hyndman was not merely a Marxist who happened to be critical of the Jews (which could hardly be more ironic in view of Marx's origins). He was a patriot who supported rearmament of Britain in 1910. He wrote of "the right and duty of this nationality to maintain its independence even under capitalism". This was in marked contrast to the position of the Labour Party which opposed rearmament, although he was by no means an advocate of this country's participation in the War. Never the less, once war had broken out, he supported his country's war effort. This led to Hyndman and some of his supporters to break away from the British Socialist Party (the SDF had become the Social Democratic Party in 1907 and the BSP in 1911 - after which it became increasingly subject to Jewish influence). Victor Fisher formed the Socialist National Defence Committee, which included Wells and Blatchford. Hyndman formed the National Socialist Party in 1916.

SOUND PATRIOT

Hyndman's patriotism was respected by his Conservative opponents (some of whom in his day, unlike ours, were patriots themselves), as well as his more nationally-minded socialist colleagues. The Conservative *Morning Post* even supported a suggestion that he should attend the Peace Conference in 1918. He was, "a sound patriot - an Englishman who doesn't allow his Socialism or his democratic passion to produce anti-nationalism".

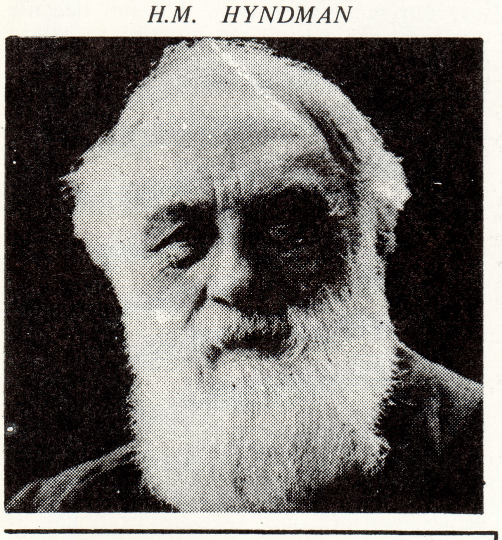
His self-proclaimed Marxism did not make him a friend of the Bolsheviks:- he described Lenin as a Communist Ivan the Terrible. His colleague in the National Socialist Party, Adolphe Smith, provided much of the material used by Nesta Webster who traced (perhaps in a too all-embracing way) the links between Bolshevism, Capitalism and the Jews in her *World Revolution*.

Hyndman was certainly a collectivist rather than a distributist and he suggested in *Reminiscences* that the French peasant could only be won over to socialism from his belief in the 'sanctity of private property' by stealth. That position is as far from ours as the position of the Conservative Party. We are no more National Communists than we are National Capitalists. If he wanted to be a collectivist socialist as well as a racial nationalist, he could be without contradiction but he could certainly not be a 'National Marxist'. Nevertheless, we must conclude that the contradictions of Hyndman are to be found in the packaging he chose for his ideas rather than in their substance.



Karl Marx – no comrade of Hyndman.

H.M. HYNDMAN



uninterested, in such a dispute.

Belloc was a great man who deserves to be revered but that does not mean that we must become his disciples. Racial Nationalism has matured to a point at which we no longer seek heroes whose ideas are to be accepted without question or qualification. The ideology of British Racial Nationalism is too precious to entrust to heroes - even the safest type of hero - the one who has been under the turf for over thirty years!

Letters To The Editor

NEW NATION, 50 PAWSONS ROAD, CROYDON, SURREY CRO 2QF.

CHESTERTON POEM

Sir,

I am afraid that the 'exclusive' GKC poem in *New Nation* has been published before. I have seen it in two books, namely in *Father Brown on Chesterton* by John O'Connor (1937) where it is published in part and in *Gilbert Keith Chesterton* by Maisie Ward. There it contains one extra verse which goes:-

I understood him to remark
(It seemed a little odd)
That half a dozen of his friends,
Had never been in quod.
He said he was a Socialist himself
And so was God.

This follows the verse that mentions Canon Holland.

Yours faithfully,

Nick Wakeling,
Norwich,
Norfolk.

SCIENTIFIC NATIONALISM

Sir,

With reference to Andrew Brons' reply to my letter in *New Nation* No.5, my objections to 'scientific nationalism' can be categorised as follows:-

a). It is unnecessary. He and I agree that love of race and nation is sufficient **and** necessary for nationalism, so any further justification distracts from our core values. Suppose 'science' were to produce evidence that whites are grovelling inferior beings who must inevitably always be inferior, would that mean that we should abandon our love of our own people? What do we value most? Our **own** race or the **best** race? He says that science is necessary to **explain** love of race and nation. Fair enough! The problem is that a lot of 'sciences' explain it. Adorno explains it in terms of authoritarian personalities. Sociologists explain it in terms of socioeconomic relations. People like Shar ff explain it in terms of competition. Turner goes for conformity effects. Dawkins goes for selection by genes. But let us widen our horizons. Why stick to science? Why not explain it in terms of the Will of God (read *Candour*) or the will of us (read Nietzsche)? Why not explain it in terms of forces beyond the comprehension of human reason? Now let me ask the best question of all - why explain it at all? Whence comes this necessity for explanation? Why should we be so pretentious as to think that life can and should be dogmatised? Is it not much easier to think, like Nietzsche, that it can and should be accepted and rejoiced in? You can explain things until you are blue in the face and in a billion different ways.

b). It causes philosophical problems. Popper says that a scientist produces theories which can be empirically tested (i.e. are **in principle** capable of refutation) but this definition isn't appropriate for :- subjects like evolution, economics, most psychology, sociology and history which do not lend themselves easily to testing under laboratory conditions; and theories which **might** be true, yet are incapable of generating verifiable hypotheses, the generally quoted examples being Freudianism and Christianity. Different people tend to produce different theories for the same event. How can you tell if anyone is right, since you never know if you have overlooked something? Feyernbend says that any attempt to define science restricts possible ways of increasing knowledge. In a nutshell, science is a word used to make some research strategies respectable and others not. What is 'respectable' varies from time to time and place to place.

There is also the Naturalistic Fallacy. Scientists tend to deal with what **is.** Politicians tend to work from **oughts.** You cannot derive the latter from the former.

We must also consider the limits of inductive reasoning, Andrew Brons has said, "providing the conclusions resulting from inductive argument are viewed critically and reviewed regularly, they only serve to advance human knowledge". This rules out his statements about the inevitability of racialism making questions about its 'rightness', since he now concedes that with the advance of human knowledge, racialism may turn out **not** to be inevitable. In which case, the question of 'ought' arises again. It means that, since all 'scientific' knowledge which purports to state 'laws' is gained inductively, all such knowledge is dubious i.e. subject to criticism and periodic revision. This is not in itself problematic but it causes problems if you want to base ideology on 'external' scientific truths because you can never be really sure you have found one. Since inductive argument is - you admit - logically invalid how do we view it critically? Certainly, we cannot apply the tests of logic to such arguments, for it always fails. So how do we go about criticising it? Gut feelings? Are we not, by resorting to gut feelings, simply going round in circles? I say that **all we need** is gut feeling. So why the need for 'inductive reasoning'? We are putting an extra stage in the argument which is not needed.

c). There is a simple, coherent alternative to 'scientific nationalism'. In the very first *New Nation,* he spoke of a 'philosophy to end philosophy'. Such a philosophy has been around since the times of the ancient Greeks - it is called scepticism.

What I am saying is this. Let us treat all gods, all sciences, all philosophies with the contempt they deserve. We do not require them. By all means let them form part of our provisional world-view. Let us teach our members to be mercilessly sceptical, relentlessly critical. That way, they'll never be fools. Let us teach them to have faith in nothing. That way, they'll never be betrayed. Then let us use every resource at our disposal, every technique we may acquire, to get **them** to will what **we** will, to get **them** to love what we love, to get **them** to defend what we want defended.

In a nutshell, let racial nationalism be nothing more and nothing less than a deep love of what we will to be our race and nation, coupled with a relentless scepticism towards all else. This is simple, easy to expound, 'coherent' , part of an ancient philosophical tradition (which has been the scourge of all other philosophical traditions ever since).

Yours sincerely,

David Michael.
St. Andrew's University,
St. Andrew's,
Fife.

Editor's Note.

The published form of this letter is about a third of the length of the original. If the cutting has impaired its continuity, that is the responsibility of the Editor. The letter was not originally intended for publication but it was considered that points contained in it ought to be published and there was insufficient time for the letter to be re-written.

Andrew Brons:

David Michael makes the following points:

(i) that the ultimate justification for our being racial nationalists is simply that we love our race and nation. It is not **because** our race and nation are superior to others (although they are in many respects!) or **because** we believe Nationalism to be functional in evolutionary change (although we do believe it to be functional in that way) and that scientific explanations are not necessary to our position. I agree!

(ii) that 'science' is constantly revising its findings and that we must not regard sociobiology as being immune from this process. I agree again!

(iii) that because scientific propositions are unnecessary to our case and because they are subject to revision, we should not mention them - even as explanations. Here I disagree. We live in a world in which multiracialists attack racial nationalism for being 'irrational'. We can show, not only that ultimate values cannot positively be prescribed from scientific findings but that, in any event, it is their values, and not ours, that are 'irrational' by their criteria. Our position is impregnable from subsequent scientific conclusions because we only attempt to **explain** our position and not to **justify** it, by such findings. The position of (most of) our opponents is dependent on 'scientific' propositions, which we can show to be contradicted by more convincing propositions.

David Michael's position is not far from my own. We differ principally in how we present our case.

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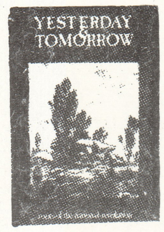

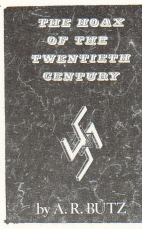

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BY TRAIN: 5 mins from Selhurst and 8 mins from Thornton Heath S.R. stations (20 mins ex Victoria). **From Selhurst:** rear exit, left Dagnall Park, right Saxon Road, right Whitehorse Road, left Pawsons Road. **From Thornton Heath:** front exit, cross into Bensham Manor Road, right Whitehorse Road, right Pawsons Road.
BY CAR: South down A. 23 Brighton Road, through Norbury, 2nd left past Mayday Hospital into Campbell Road, straight on Cameron/Saviour Road, left Queens Road, right Pawsons Road.

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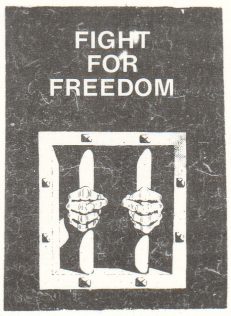

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. Joseph Pearce. Pb. 39pp. £1.20 (30p)
This booklet, written by Joe Pearce whilst in prison, is a basic statement of Revolutionary Nationalist principles. Written against a background of oppression its call for national and social freedom is all the more authentic.

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THE THIRTEENTH TRIBE. Arthur Koestler. Pb. 224pp. £2.50 (50p)
A leading Jewish authority provides the historical cultural evidence that proves contemporary Jewry has no claim whatever to the land of Palestine, mistakenly called Israel.

MONEY MANIPULATION & SOCIAL ORDER. Fr. Denis Fahey. Pb. 102pp. (Phone Nationalist Books for details)
A celebrated Catholic priest discusses how the rise of usury bankerdom has resulted in national and social decline. "Humanity", he remarks, "has been crucified on a cross of gold."

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THE SERVILE STATE. Hilaire Belloc. £3.75 (40p)
From the Nationalist point of view this is one of Belloc's most important works. Identifying the conditions that gave rise to the cancer of capitalism, it shows why Distributism is vital to our national survival. Highly recommended.

ANTI—ZION. William Grimstad. Pb. 200pp, £2.95 (40p)
This book is a compendium of quotations by world historical figures on the compelling question of the Jews. Revealing.

PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE. Harry Barnes. Pb. 724pp. £7.50 (£1.25p)
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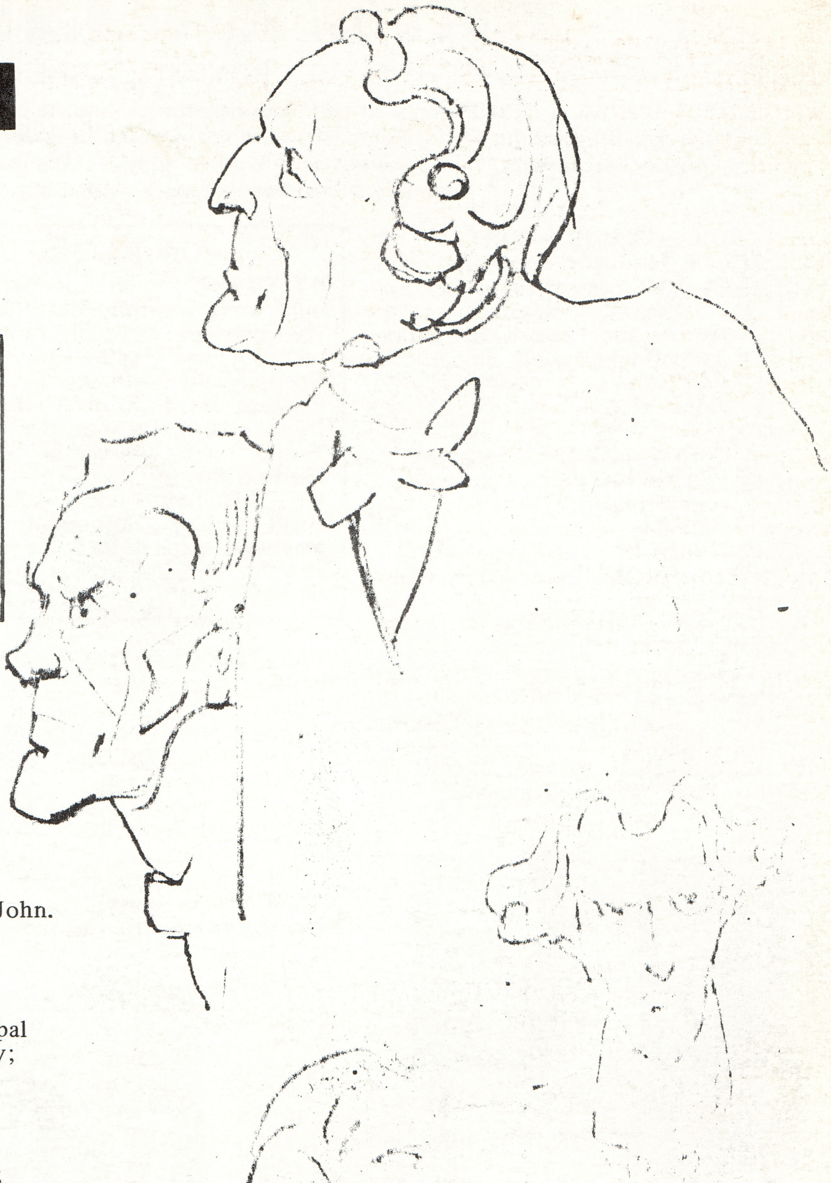
SONGS OF EDUCATION

A song of Geography



WITH ITS ironic subtitle "Form 17955301, Subsection Z", *A song of Geography* is typical of G.K. Chesterton's satirical poetry. It also illustrates his criticism of big-business inspired imperialism, which played a part in much of his work, including the famous novel *The Napoleon of Notting Hill.*

It is unfortunate but not surprising that the works of this great patriot are almost all out of print.

We have pleasure in reproducing here the remainder of the hitherto unpublished sketches by G.K.C. which we featured in the last issue.

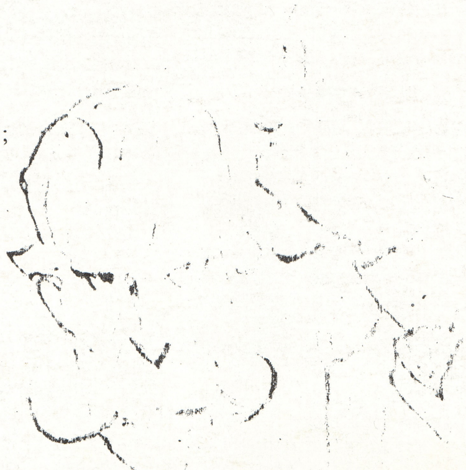
The earth is a place on which England is found,
And you find it however you twirl the globe round;
For the spots are all red and the rest is all grey,
And that is the meaning of Empire Day.

Gibraltar's a rock that you see very plain,
And attached to its base is the district of Spain.
And the island of Malta is marked further on,
Where some natives were known as the Knights of St. John.

Then Cyprus, and east to the Suez Canal,
That was conquered by Dizzy and Rothschild his pal
With the Sword of the Lord in the old English way;
And that is the meaning of Empire Day.

Our principal imports come far as Cape Horn;
For necessities, cocoa; for luxuries, corn;
Thus Brahmins are born for the rice-field, and thus,
The Gods made the Greeks to grow currants for us;
Of earth's other tributes are plenty to choose,
Tobacco and petrol and Jazzing and Jews:
The Jazzing will pass but the Jews they will stay;
And that is the meaning of Empire Day.

Our principal exports, all labelled and packed,
At the ends of the earth are delivered intact:
Our soap or our salmon can travel in tins
Between the two poles and as like as two pins;
So that Lancashire merchants whenever they like
Can water the beer of a man in Klondike
Or poison the meat of a man in Bombay;
And that is the meaning of Empire Day.



The day of St. George is a musty affair
Which Russians and Greeks are permitted to share;
The day of Trafalgar is Spanish in name
And the Spaniards refuse to pronounce it the same;
But the day of the Empire from Canada came
With Morden and Borden and Beaverbrook's fame
And saintly seraphical souls such as they:
And that is the meaning of Empire Day.